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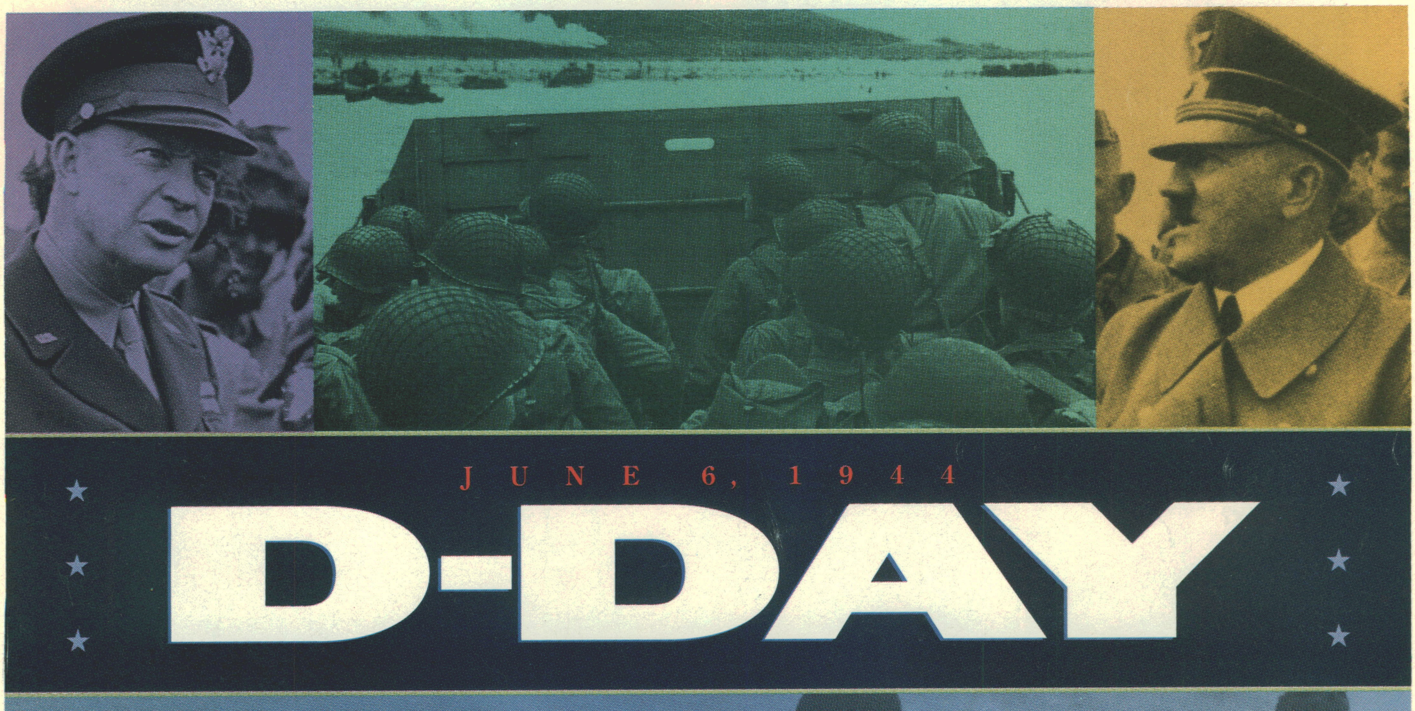

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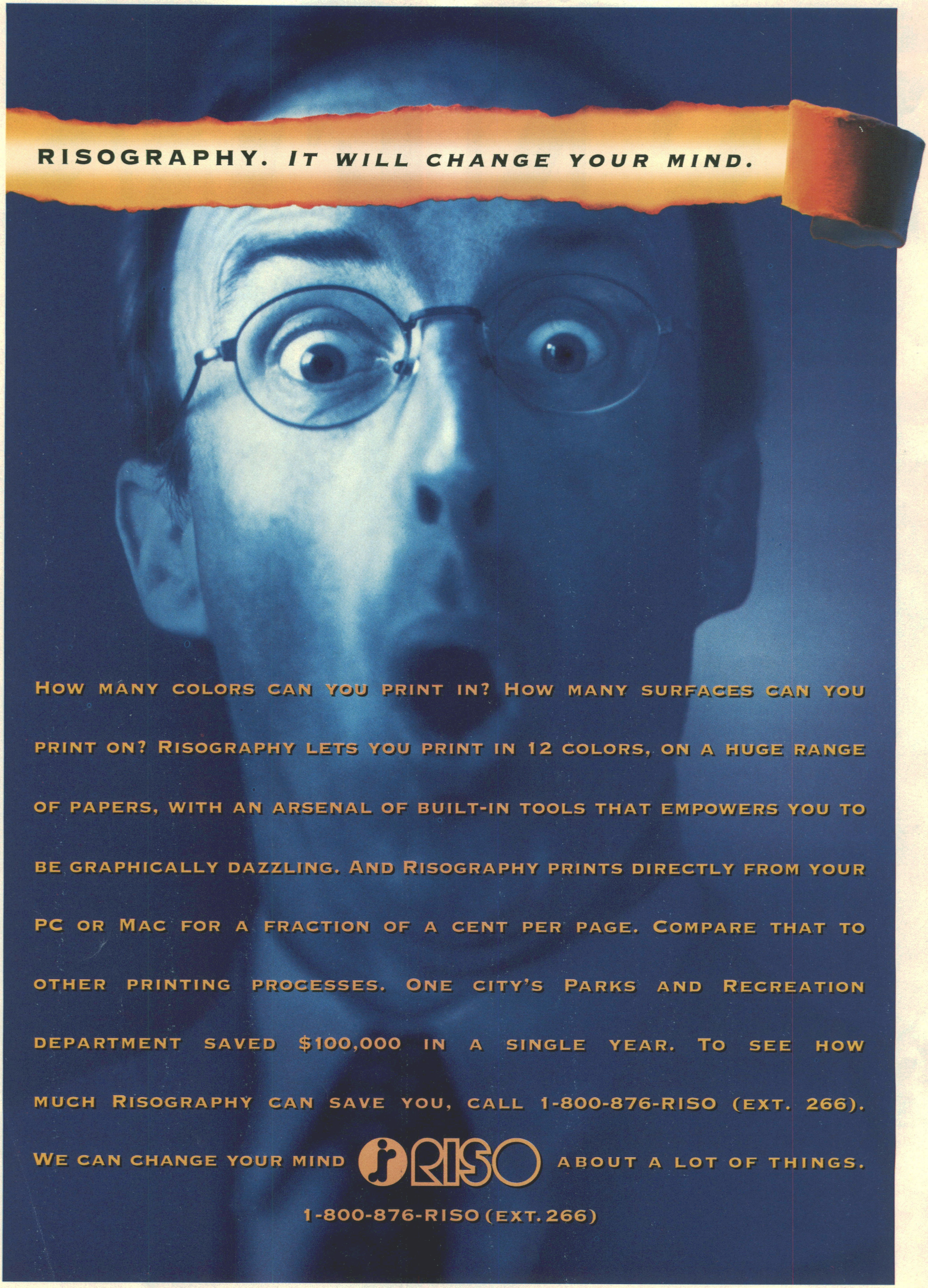

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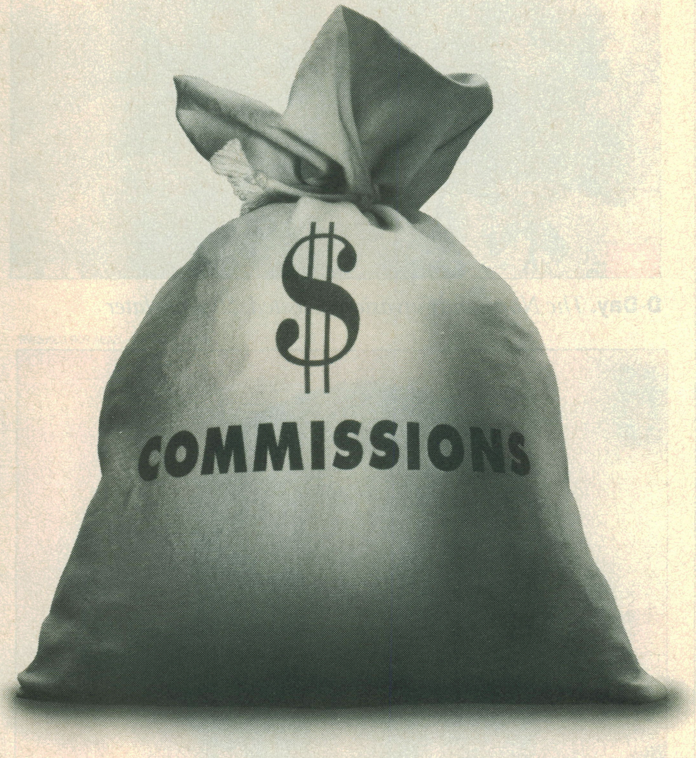

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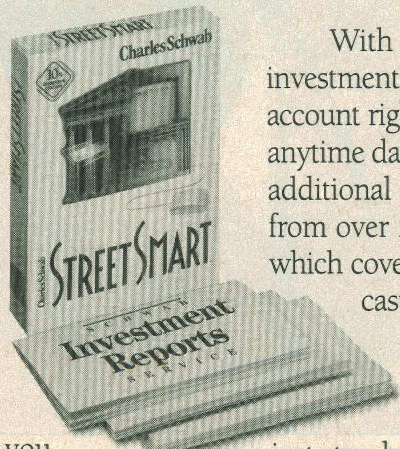

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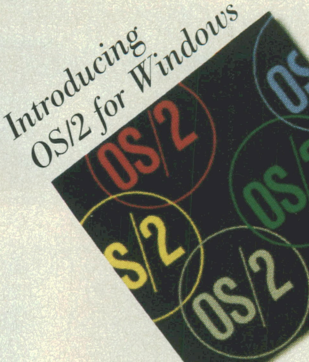
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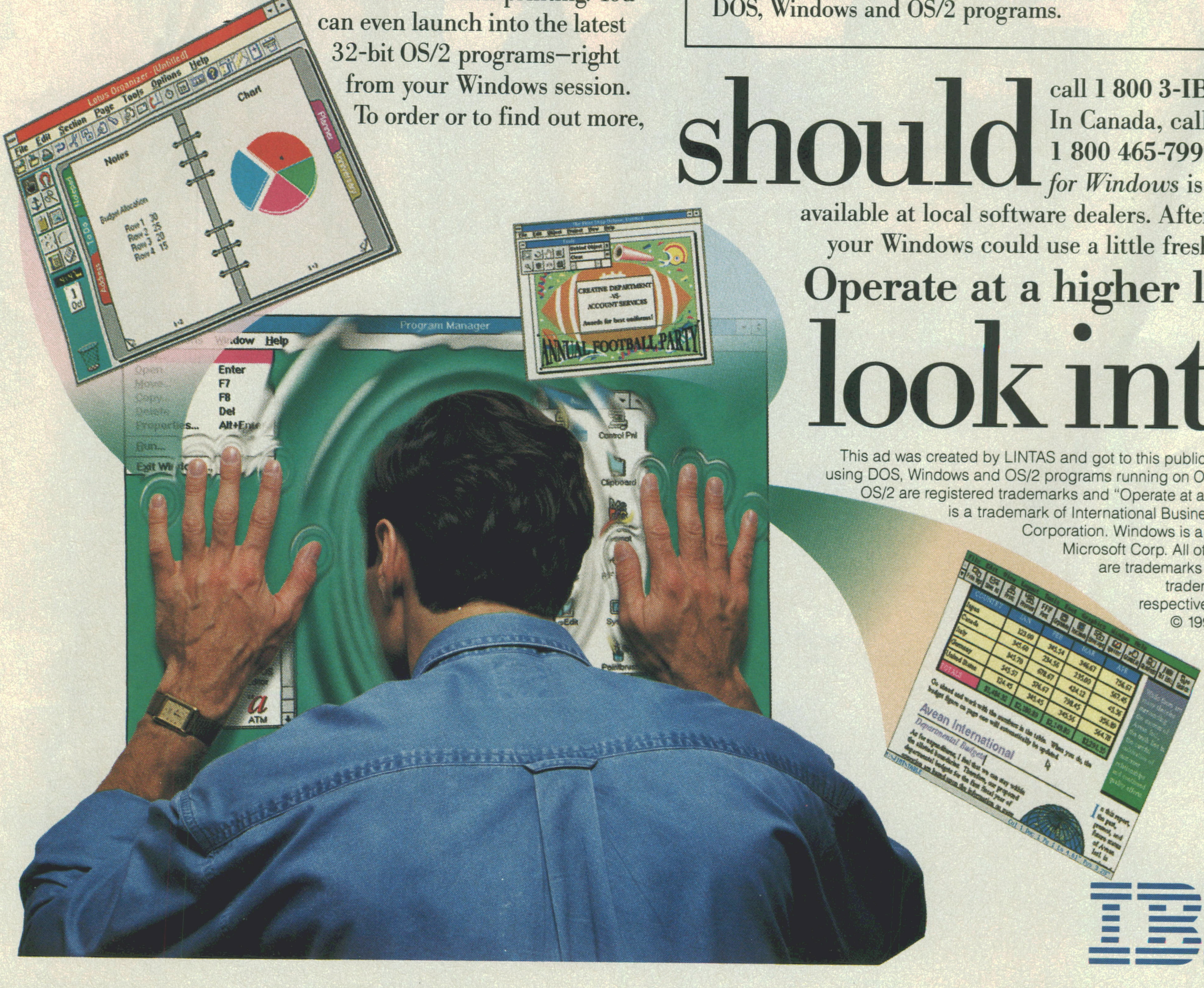
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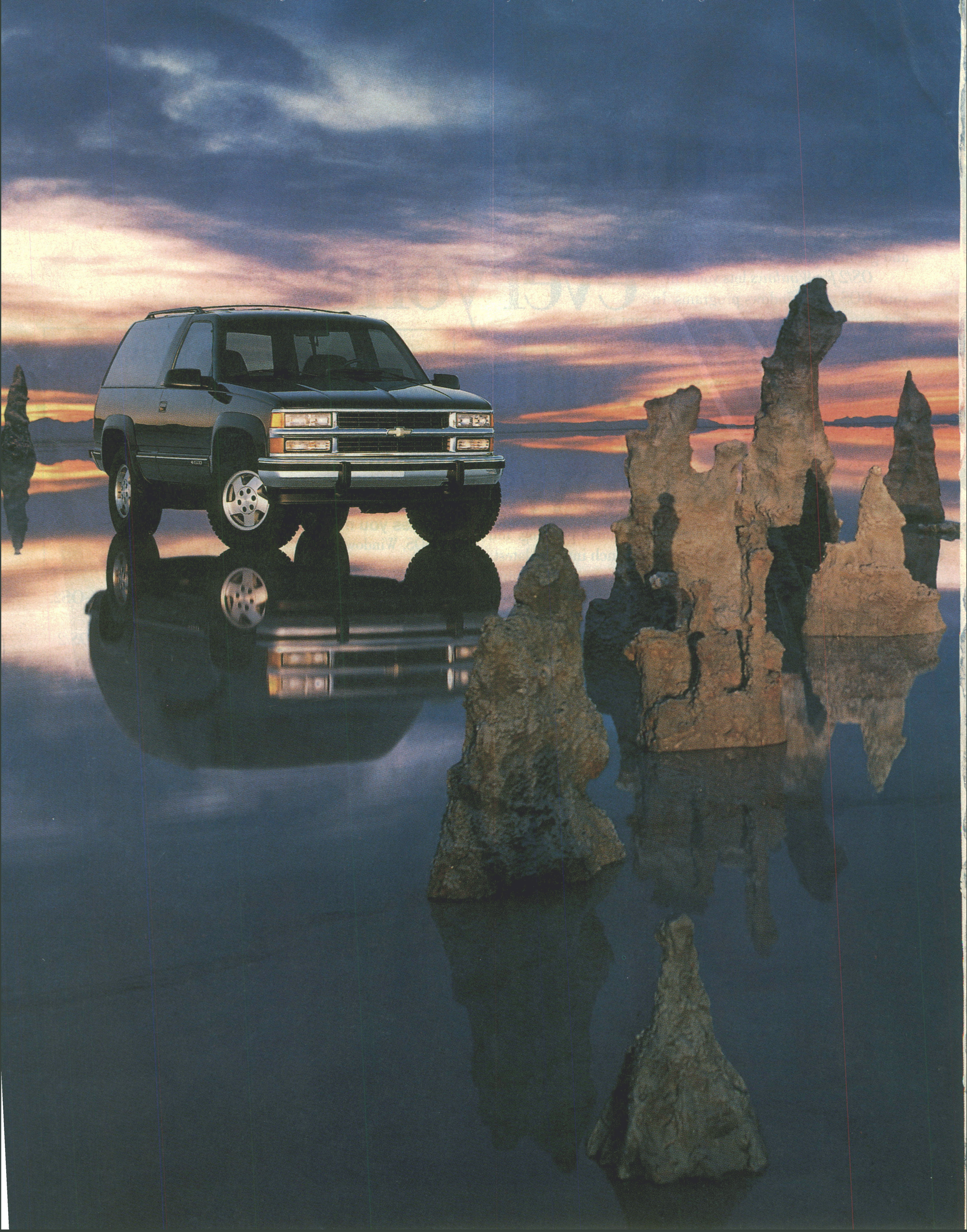

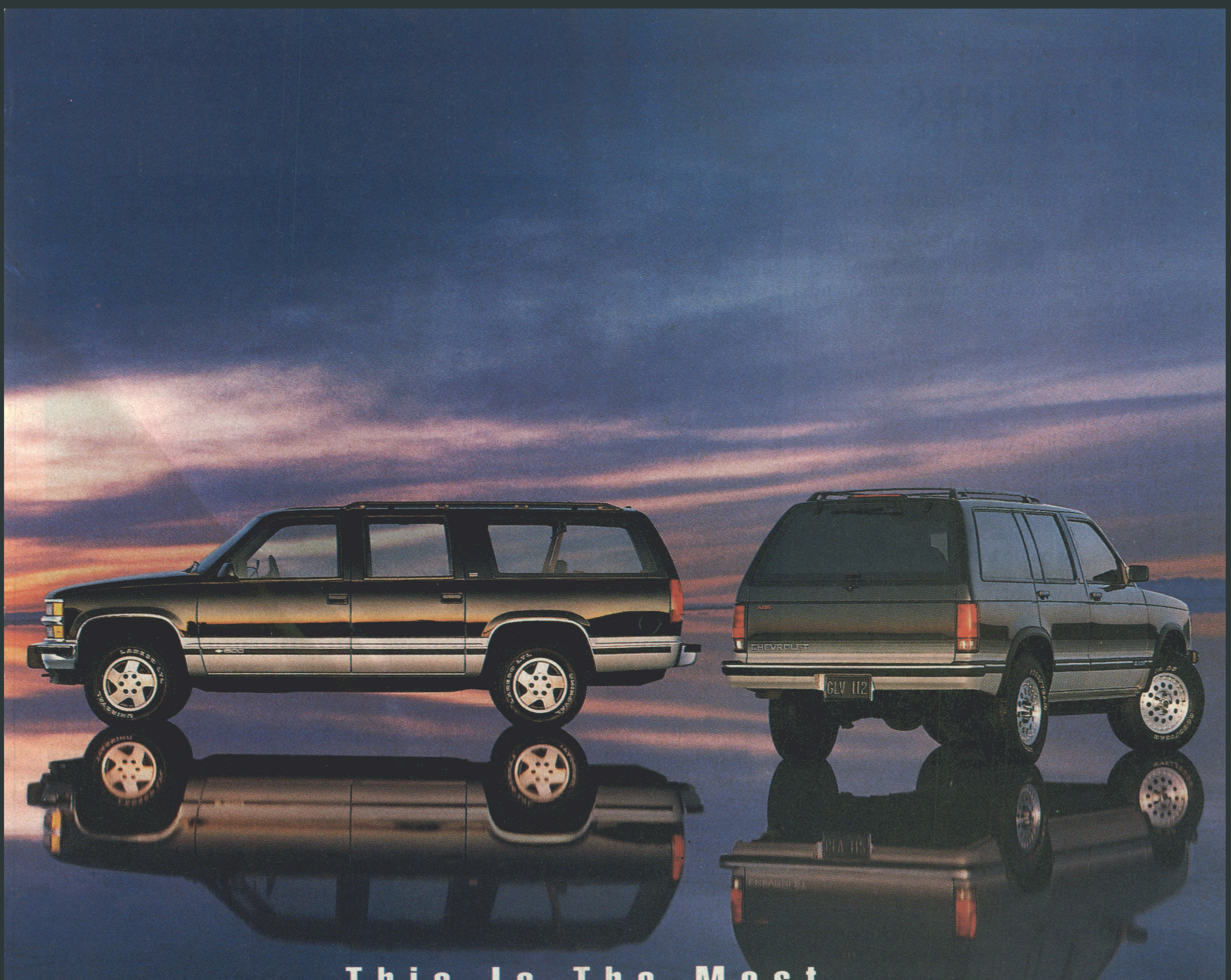

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LETTERS

UPI / BETTMANN

Victory. *Richard Nixon and family after his narrow 1968 win over Hubert Humphrey*

Remembering Nixon: I just received your May 2 issue ["Richard M. Nixon: His Place in History"], and all I can say is thank you. Richard Nixon was not an angel by any means, but thankfully you treated him with the simple respect and dignity a man deserves when he is put to rest.

Michael A. Thiac
New Orleans

■ *U.S. News* is to be commended for its stories on Richard Nixon, which related the facts, both good and bad, without condemning the man. Many of the recent reports of former President Nixon's work in public office were very critical. Yes, he made mistakes. But he also did many things that were a plus in our world, and your articles reflected that.

Warren Thurber
Bradenton, Fla.

■ The death of Richard Nixon is truly a monumental event in American life. In so many ways, Nixon epitomized America. This incredibly ambitious, enormously energetic man's rise from humble origins, through dedicated hard work and stick-to-itiveness, represented to millions the greatness of our country. His fall from power was caused largely by insecurity, a little pettiness, cockiness and, yes, a thirst for power, traits associated not just with our 37th president but often with America itself.

Todd Blodgett
Washington, D.C.

■ I find it hard to believe how easy the judgments on President Nixon have been. And I say this without any reference to Watergate. Nixon kept the Vietnam War going for five extremely expensive years. He failed miserably to comprehend that Vietnam was a war we couldn't win. He foolishly bought the fiction that obstructionist attitudes at home were prolonging the war. The whole sorry mess was utterly stupid. Nixon's pinched viewpoint kept us stuck in it for all the wasted years he was president.

John Bridgman
Edina, Minn.

■ Back in 1960, when I was 8 years old, a friend insisted on preaching the merits of the other guy in the presidential election simply because he was Catholic, like my friend. Seizing a chance to spite my friend, I immediately supported Nixon. One Catholic baptism, communion, marriage and two graduate degrees later, I am still a Nixon supporter, despite being from a poor Afro-American background. Unlike some, I recall Nixon's part in passage of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, open enrollment and affirmative action—all programs that benefited me. Watergate, on the other hand, didn't affect me adversely one iota.

Dale B. Drakeford
Bronx, N.Y.

■ Recent coverage of Richard Nixon's death and funeral is very confusing to me. I am 27 years old, and all I know of this sudden hero is the Nixon of Watergate, Vietnam, the Checkers speech, smear campaigns and nervous, shifty-eyed debates. It's amazing that a generation of Americans was brought up to think that Nixon was the end of modern faith in government, when all along he was a minor deity. Could all our history books have been wrong, or is this perhaps just another of the melodramatic bandwagons onto which the press is so wont to hop? Opening up China is not exactly raising the dead, and neither do a few good deeds exorcise the ghost of shamelessness.

Eric J. Teltschik
Houston

Elected at a time when our nation was tearing itself apart, Richard Nixon managed to extricate us from a costly war in Vietnam, open the door to China and establish détente with the Soviet Union. These actions allowed this country to heal and set the stage for the final act of the cold war. Were it not for Watergate, I suspect that his presidency would have been judged to have been great. I believe history will be kind to Richard Nixon when the passage of time puts all things in perspective and when an unbiased analysis of the tenures of his predecessors and successors will show that his "illegal" actions were more the norm than the exception.

Gary W. Sackett
Swedesboro, N.J.

■ Richard Nixon was the first person I voted for, and I have never regretted it. He was more qualified for the job than any of those seated in the front row at his funeral. Although young at the time, I watched the Watergate hearings and felt that Nixon was a scapegoat, that there was something besides a desire for justice behind the hearings. The only difference between his sins and those of his pious accusers on Capitol Hill was that he happened to be caught. The world has lost a great man, and Clinton was wise to have sought his counsel.

Esther L. Smith
Greenville, N.C.

■ If you had listened carefully to the eulogies delivered at Richard Nixon's funeral, you would have heard the whispers of the silent majority.

Michael W. Bryant
Vienna, Va.

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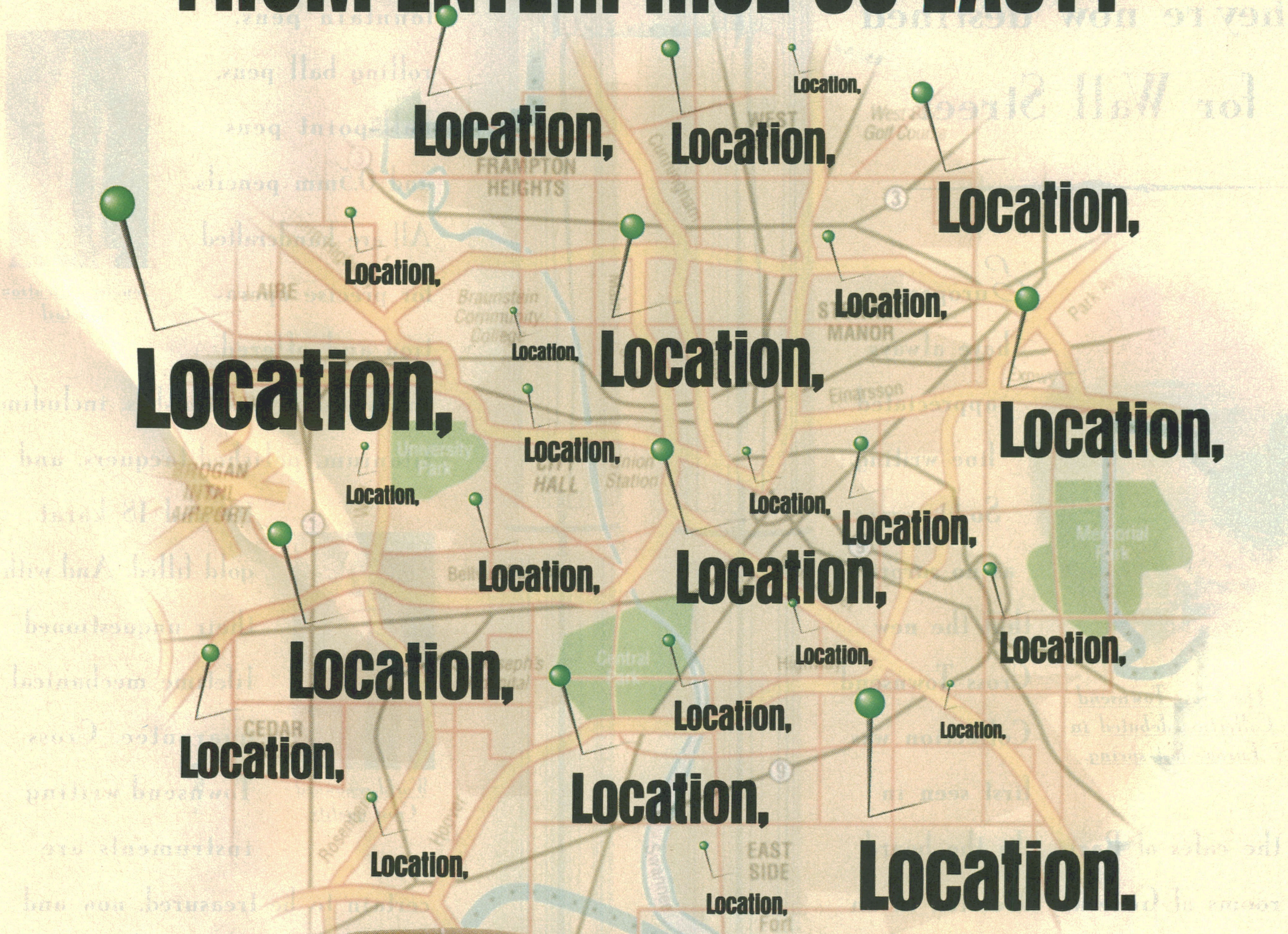
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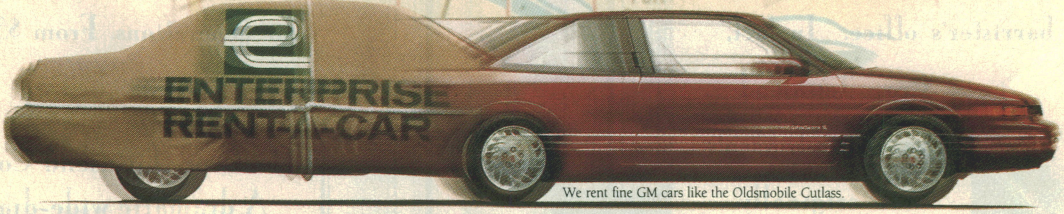
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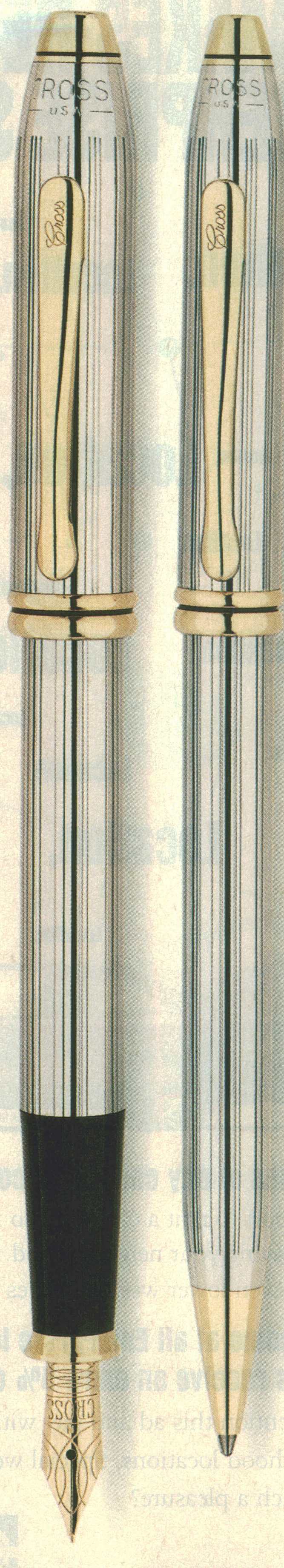

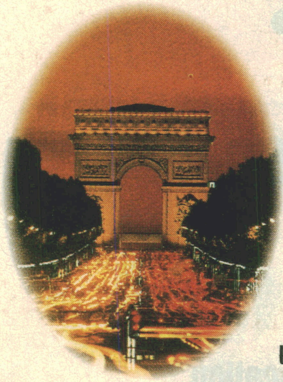

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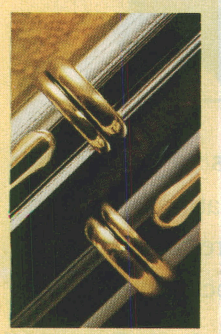

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LETTERS

War between the sexes: It's exciting to finally read a piece about feminism that gives nonradical feminists a chance to be heard ["De-Escalating the Gender War," April 18]. Like any movement, the feminist movement has a radical fringe element. Unfortunately, the man-hating fringe perpetuates the war between the sexes and gets the most media coverage. In this struggle, it is not necessary to take rights away from one sex to give them to the other. Neither side has to lose. I appreciate your recognizing that there are men and women who believe working together will get better results than fighting wars.

Courtney Schloemer
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

■ John Leo's column seemed intended to escalate the "war," if there is one, or start one if not. I am offended by the illustration and the quote of Helen Fisher about the " 'huge silent majority of women who are fond of men' and worried about their husbands, sons and fathers." I am a feminist and see clearly that gender needs to be addressed consciously in all aspects of public and private life, not unconsciously and thoughtlessly as it has been for so long.

Joyce P. Gall
Eugene, Ore.

■ Feminists say they don't really regard themselves or their political efforts as signs of being enemies of men. I think the vast majority of men would respond that you sure couldn't prove that by us. Single feminist acquaintances complain they can't get men interested in serious relationships anymore or even engage them on a personal, friendly basis—small wonder with the hostile environment being fostered. If these women are truly interested in holding "peace talks" with male society, the approach has to be of the open hand, not the clenched fist. Constant bombast of "victimhood" just evokes resistance and anger.

John W. Hicks
Tehachapi, Calif.

■ Feminist activists are in a large part responsible for our nation's myriad social problems. Instead of assaulting our nation's moral base, they should promote the traditional family and encourage women to stay married and stay home with the children during their formative years. We didn't have the magnitude of problems decades ago because mothers unselfishly put their husband's and children's needs above notions of going to work and "finding one's self." In today's dysfunctional society, woman, in trying to "find" herself, is losing her family.

Catherine Mueller
Albuquerque, N.M.

SAM HUNDLEY FOR USN&WR

Gender. *Peace signals*

Bridging racism: I was glad to see racism's growing effects on black communities addressed in "Build Bridges, Don't Burn Them" [April 25]. If we want to end racism, we must first acknowledge that no one is immune from its effects and nobody is excused for being racist. If we want a bright future, more people must express how horrible racism really is.

Jill A. Farbman
Randolph, N.J.

■ Mortimer Zuckerman has missed the point in attempting to address black racism. He has failed to take into account institutional racism, and, in fact, contributes to it with the following statement: "There are millions and millions of blacks who have followed traditional pathways into the middle and working classes through hard work and education who seek, as do most whites, to uphold a shared set of civil and civic norms." Why must blacks buy into essentially white middle class definitions of success? This historically institutionalized white American value is at the root of modern black anger, and until it is adequately addressed, black racism will continue, just as white racism, overtly personal and covertly institutional, continues.

Glenn H. Inghram
Albany, N.Y.

■ Black leaders will only build resentment among whites if they insist on fueling hatred within their constituency. Most whites recognize the injustices that blacks and other groups have suffered throughout our history. We haven't yet, and can't ever, completely eliminate the effects of past mistreatment of these groups. We can only continue, as we are, to work toward eliminating injustices in our present society. I'm very willing to support the building of bridges between racial groups. But how can I be expected to keep reaching out to those whose response to my best efforts is only more anger and hatred?

James Stecker
Edmond, Okla.

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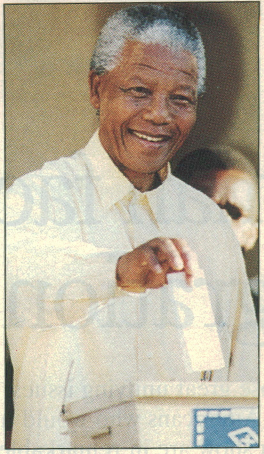
■ LETTERS

South Africa: I wish the picture that covered Pages 28 and 29 ["Free at Last," May 9] could be splashed across the front pages of every newspaper in America. What a moving example of the old cliché: A picture is worth a thousand words. The serpentine line of Africans waiting to cast their vote is something that should make America hang its collective head in shame. How often a large percentage of our populace ignores elections. How often I have heard people in line behind me getting angry and impatient when as few as 10 people were ahead of them. It is a sad commentary on America's value of a privilege that millions have died for and many people the world over are willing to wait hours – and perhaps days – for.

Robert A. Fitch
Thousand Oaks, Calif.

PETER DEJONG – AP



Leader. *Mandela votes.*

■ Your writers were carried away. They see a miracle; most of the world sees just an agreement between reasonable people. It will become a miracle only if it works, which is very doubtful. To claim this event could eclipse in importance the collapse of the Soviet Union is very amusing. The might, bombs and international communism affected every living soul on Earth; the internal affairs of an African country have little consequence elsewhere. All those pages and not even a hint of how Nelson Mandela expects to satisfy the expectations of his people.

Emery Dandy
Port St. Lucie, Fla.

💻 Why do Western journalists, in writing about South Africa's diabolical system of apartheid, never mention that there has been more peace and stability in South Africa than in many other places in Africa where tribal conflicts and civil wars have killed many – Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia, Liberia, Nigeria, Zaire? In Rwanda, at least 200,000 have been slaughtered in the last month alone. Let's get some perspective on what is going on in South Africa and what we can expect in the days ahead.

Dale R. Yancy
Merrimack, N.H.

💻 **New dimensions:** Thank you for "Alternative Realities" [May 9] about the discovery of the top quark. Unfortunately, in spite of the interesting subject matter, this article did little to dispel the popular image of scientists as befuddled savants driveling about fantastical impossibilities while drawing tax-fattened paychecks. It is true that parallel universes and time travel are wonderful to dream about, but there are many interesting and useful inventions, many of which stand to change our lives in a matter of years rather than centuries, that are ignored in the "popular literature."

Christopher Stvartak
Notre Dame, Ind.

■ When I read your story, it reminded me of a children's book written in the 1960s, titled *A Wrinkle in Time.* In the book, one of the characters asks another how he would enter the dimensions beyond the fourth, and the second character answers: When we have the language to describe the dimensions beyond the fourth, then we will be able to enter those dimensions. Maybe the poet will have as much to say about the future as the physicist.

Fred Walter
Mount Pocono, Pa.

Vacation drives: Enjoyed the well-written article on the Upper Peninsula of Michigan, "A Secret Shore in Michigan" [April 25]. Being a native "yooper" who has enjoyed living, teaching and raising our family of four here in God's country, we are glad you were able to share a touch of the beauty and tranquillity of the environs. The only complaint I have is that the article, included in your book *Great Vacation Drives,* gives more publicity to our tranquil habitat. I fear we will be overrun by tourists.

Gordon E. Farragh
Iron Mountain, Mich.

Clarification: Data for the charts "Super software" and "Hard-driving hardware" on the size of the CD-ROM market ["Profits on a Platter," April 25] came from InfoTech. We regret not giving InfoTech credit. – *The Editors*

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OUTLOOK

The human face of immigration

Immigration is one of those great unifying issues: It brings together hypocrites of all persuasions. Americans who would not be caught dead phoning up the same radio call-in show are in remarkable agreement when it comes to keeping out foreigners. A solid 75 percent of the public, for example, is convinced that curbing immigration will mean better jobs for Americans. President Clinton, with an approval rating of only 43 percent on the economy and 36 percent on foreign policy, knew when he was whipped. His new policy on Haitian refugees is prudently indistinguishable from the old restrictive one.

ONE WEEK

> *The Haitians make poor immigrant material—almost as poor as every other immigrant group once did.*

There was a time when U.S. Marines neatly dealt with problems like Haiti by going ashore to prop up friendly, if unsavory, dictators. But now the Marines stay home, and the dictators know that they don't even have to be friendly. So thousands of Haitians, like millions before who were crushed by despots of everything but hope, have sought a better life in America.

And so the 100 percent Americans are alarmed, as they have always been about immigrants coming from the wrong places. The Haitians are poor and uneducated, they say, if not outright criminals; they don't share America's democratic values; they are ridden with AIDS and other loathsome diseases.

The arguments might be impressive if it weren't for their tedious sameness. In the 1870s, it was the Chinese of San Francisco who alarmed the natives: They stole jobs and spread smallpox. In 1916, it was the Italians in New York who were said to infect decent people with polio. Eastern European Jews, a respected American sociologist declared in 1914, were "moral cripples" who played fast and loose with the law and with gentile women. The prevailing early-1900s wisdom even among progressive thinkers was that non-Anglo-Saxons inherently lacked "the instinct for liberty."

Still, the neo-nativists are right about the Haitians: They make poor immigrant material. Almost as poor, in fact, as every other immigrant group once did. The overwhelming majority of ambitious men and women who made the journey to these shores arrived without skills, money, education or conspicuous morality. Half the Italians, a quarter of the Jews and a third of the Poles who came at the turn of the century were illiterate. Since the government began keeping records in 1820, laborers, servants or those with no occupation at all have always far outnumbered skilled workers. It is worth remembering, too, that the keepers of Western values who settled in Jamestown imported women of dubious virtue by the boatload and the Anglo-Saxons with liberty in their genes who settled Massachusetts went around hanging Quakers. Somehow, even they turned into solid American citizens in the end.

There are serious matters to be discussed on immigration policy, in particular the local strains on welfare and schools and health services in Florida and California, now the subject of a federal lawsuit. There are also tired arguments that will not die. ☐ BY STEPHEN BUDIANSKY

On Florida's shore. *This man and his child* –

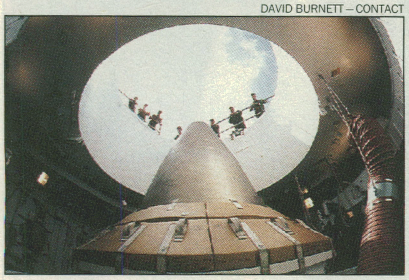
CHUCK FADELY—*MIAMI HERALD*

arriving at the Miami Beach Coast Guard station were among more than 400 Haitian refugees crowding a freighter intercepted at sea.

CALENDAR

New aim. On May 31, the United States and Russia will take another step in the scaling back of their nuclear arsenals. Both are scheduled to aim their intercontinental ballistic missiles away from each other, pointing them instead toward oceans or deprogramming them altogether. Smaller nations, meanwhile, are striving to acquire nuclear weapons.

DAVID BURNETT–CONTACT



Tamed. *An MX missile in Wyoming*

DATABASE

Number of U.S. ICBM launchers: **550**; former Soviet ICBM launchers: **992**; U.S. nuclear weapons at the peak of the arms race in the early '80s: **12,650**; former Soviet Union: **10,800**; France: **540**; Britain: **350**

Current U.S. nuclear weapons: **8,380**; former Soviets: **9,663**; according to START agreements, the change over the next decade in the number of nuclear weapons held by the U.S.: **–58%**; former Soviet Union: **–63%**

Known nuclear weapons tests worldwide, 1945 through 1993: **2,031**; portion of tests occurring between 1955 and 1970: **45%**; the last known test: **China, 1993**

Nations pursuing nuclear weapons: **Iran, Libya** and **North Korea**; nations with dormant nuclear programs: **Argentina, Brazil, Iraq, Romania** and **South Africa**

Americans who think the top U.S. foreign policy goal should be preventing the spread of nuclear weapons: **69%**

Time, according to the Pentagon, required to re-aim the detargeted ICBMs: **"a matter of minutes"**

U.S.NEWS

THE 'WE'RE LIKE EVERYBODY ELSE' SENATE

Ross Perot probably loved it. Pressured by constituents and by colleagues up for reelection, senators last week held their noses and voted to hand over yet a few more perks. Free lunches are out, as are costly gifts and expense-paid junkets to fancy resorts. The vote was a lopsided 95 to 4 (one Senate Democrat confided that the result would have been exactly the opposite had secret ballots been cast). But this was about politics, not real reform. The Senate recently refused to give up its free parking at National Airport, and the public outrage was predictable. The case against the no-gifts measure – that legislators enjoy fewer perks than private-sector executives and no lobbyist can buy them for the price of a lunch – is tough to make in public. "We in the Senate have to show that we are not fundamentally different from other people," said Wisconsin Democrat Russell Feingold. The notion is questionable, but the message is clear: Change the perception that Congress can be bought.

ERIK FREELAND FOR *USN&WR*

RESERVED
SUPREME COURT JUSTICES
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS
DIPLOMATS
UNAUTHORIZED CARS WILL BE TOWED

Intact. *The parking perk is not ending.*

The truth, though, is that this debate was over the small stuff. Each chamber has passed its version of campaign finance reform, and a compromise still appears elusive. Real reform – which would try to reduce the amount of special-interest money in campaigns and increase real competition for seats – is more complex than gift rules and arguably more important. The question is whether Congress is ready to deal with anything more than perception.

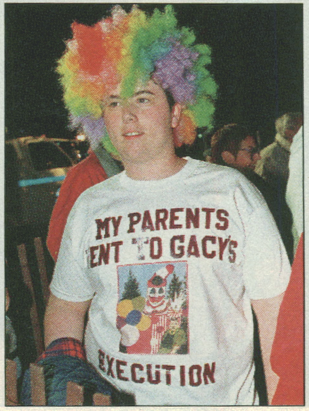
'RACIAL JUSTICE' AND THE DEATH PENALTY

The death-penalty debate is turning into a grim numbers game. With broad support for capital punishment stretching from the White House to several dozen statehouses, executions are sure to continue. Last week, serial killer John Wayne Gacy died in Illinois, and Arkansas saved on employee overtime by executing two killers in one evening. The question is whether Congress will give blacks a wider berth in proving that the ultimate punishment is meted out unfairly.

The House has added to the crime bill a "racial justice" amendment that would let defendants challenge death penalties with statistics that suggest disparities. In one Georgia region, such statistics show, prosecutors sought the death penalty one third of the time when whites were murdered but in fewer than 6 percent of cases with black victims. But the Senate last week voted against the proposal, heeding prosecutors' arguments that it would further delay death-case appeals and might lead to racial quotas for executions.

The administration may help break the House-Senate impasse: Bill Clinton might support a racial-justice measure limited to federal cases. But members of the Congressional Black Caucus (story, Page 36) denounce that potential compromise. Several insist that limiting the measure would be unfair to members of minority groups.

RICHARD A. CHAPMAN – *CHICAGO SUN-TIMES*



Cheering Gacy's death

WORLD

A 'FOUNDATION FOR PEACE' IN BOSNIA

For two years, the warlords in Bosnia have exploited disunity in the international community to keep the slaughter going. Last week in Geneva, the peacemakers finally got their act together. For the first time, foreign ministers of the European Union, Russia and the United States all agreed on the same peace plan. They called for a cease-fire and more peace talks within two weeks, based on a territorial compromise that would award 51 percent of Bosnia to Muslims and Croats and 49 percent to Serbs. Economic sanctions against Serbia would phase out as Serbs withdraw from the 70 percent of Bosnia they now hold. "We have laid a foundation for peace," said Russian Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev.

DOMINIQUE BARBESINO – AP

Near Sarajevo. *Muslim civilians slain by Serb artillery*

That was the easy part. The hard part will be to sell it to the warring parties. "None of us here intends to impose a solution," U.S. Secretary of State Warren Christopher stressed. "The parties will have to reach a settlement themselves." He means it. The United States is not about to send in the thousands of ground troops it promised to police a peace the parties don't want. Should new peace talks fail, the arms embargo on Bosnia is likely to go next, further widening the war. The U.S. Senate took a step in that direction last week, and full congressional approval may soon follow. That prospect, French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe said, makes the new peace talks "a chance we must seize now."

HORN-HONKING TIME IN JERICHO

In 27 years of Israeli occupation, it was a sight Palestinians could only dream about. But last week they honked horns and danced euphorically in the streets as Israeli soldiers began turning control of Jericho and the Gaza Strip over to jubilant troops of the Palestine Liberation Organization. While Palestinians cheered and held PLO Chairman Yassir Arafat's picture aloft, many Israelis also breathed a sigh of relief. Israeli soldiers no longer must die trying to maintain order on hostile ground.

Emotions aside, Palestinians face huge challenges. Despite an American pledge of $5 million in new aid–on top of the $500 million promised over the next five years–the fledgling Palestinian Authority is broke. More important, Arafat and others now must prove they can lead. Their followers want better living standards. And Israelis made jittery by the sight of Palestinian police only a few miles from downtown Jerusalem want to see terrorism curbed. These are no small tasks for Arafat, scheduled to arrive triumphantly in Jericho in the next few weeks. Any progress will depend on his ability to tap the reservoir of support so much in evidence last week.

YANNIS BEHRAKIS – REUTER

In charge. *Palestinian police in the Gaza Strip*

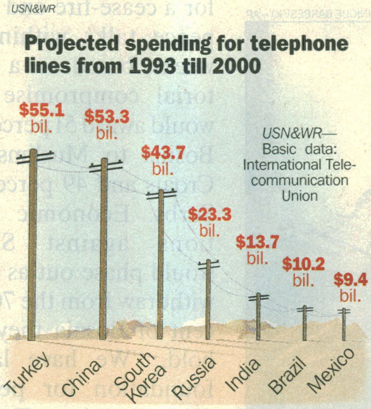
THE FIRST
AND ONLY
VOICE
ACTIVATED
CALLING CARD

BUSINESS

THE RACE TO WIRE THE WORLD

Governments around the world are realizing there's a direct link between a strong communications infrastructure and economic development. That's why the global market for phone systems is taking off – from $115 billion last year to $200 billion a year by 2000. Last week, after heavy campaigning by President Clinton and other administration officials, AT&T won a $4 billion contract to modernize Saudi Arabia's telecommunications system over the next seven years. The company will install 1.5 million phone lines, as well as a wireless system for 200,000 cellular phones. In winning the job, AT&T beat out such foreign rivals as Germany's Siemens AG, Sweden's L. M. Ericsson, France's Alcatel Alsthom and Japan's NEC Corp. Some observers saw the AT&T contract as a Saudi reward for the help that America gave the Arab country in the Persian Gulf war. But Daniel Hesse, president of AT&T's Network Systems International, said that "political support was only one factor." He noted that AT&T has done business in Saudi Arabia for many years; it plans to manufacture some of its parts there, and it offered an attractive financing package.

Globally, there's plenty of potential business for all the major phone companies. Russia, for instance, has 15 phone lines per 100 people but hopes to have 25 lines per 100 by 2000. Mexico projects nearly doubling its phone lines to 13 per 100 people over the next six years. Turkey will expand its lines from 14 per 100 to 66 per 100.



DAVID S. MERRILL – *USN&WR*

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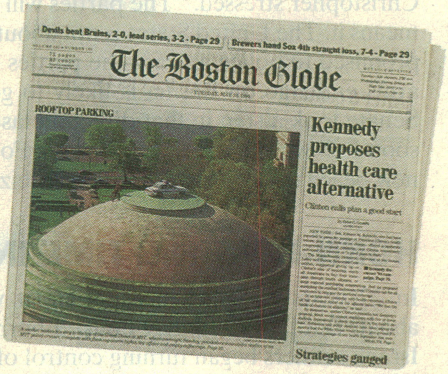
TOMFOOLERY

UNWINDING AT MIT. Its name bespeaks a certain seriousness: Massachusetts Institute of Technology. But no one can accuse the high-tech university of lacking a sense of humor. Harmless but sophisticated pranks – known at MIT as "hacks" – are a tradition, and as technology has advanced, so, too, has inventive wit.

The first prank documented in Brian Leibowitz's *Journal of the Institute for Hacks, Tomfoolery & Pranks at MIT* dates to 1872, when a floor was sprinkled with a mild contact explosive. By 1928, techies were threading a telegraph pole through a dorm. In 1936, two students found railroad tracks welded across their room. Somehow someone in 1975 taped a "Kilroy Was Here" banner to the windowless side of a building, 17 stories off the ground. Just before the second-half kickoff of 1982's nearby Yale-Harvard game, a weather balloon with the letters "MIT" burst from beneath the midfield turf. The *Boston Globe* last week front-paged this year's best hack: the overnight assembly of a life-size replica of a police car – complete with flashing lights, a dummy cop and a box of doughnuts – atop the 150-foot-high dome of the Cambridge campus's main building.

MIT's official response: "We're happy as clams," said associate provost Jay Keyser. "Academically, MIT can be very tough, and students need to distance themselves from their work. Hacks are very healthy."



Devils beat Bruins, 2-0, lead series, 3-2 - Page 29
Brewers hand Sox 4th straight loss, 7-4 - Page 29

The Boston Globe

ROOFTOP PARKING

Kennedy proposes health care alternative

Clinton calls plan a good start

Strategies gauged

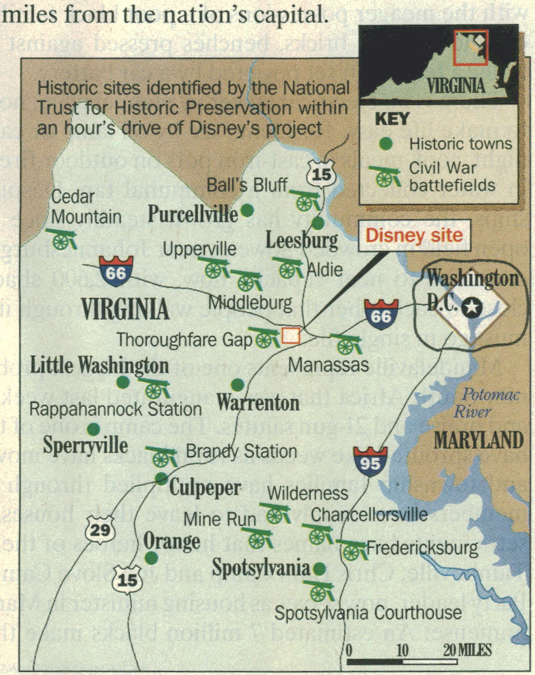
Page 1 hack. *An overnight creation*

BY JOHN SIMONS

VIRGINIA'S NEW BATTLE: HISTORIANS VS. DISNEY

The Confederacy won the First Battle of Manassas or, as Yankees call it, Bull Run. And the second one, too. But environmentalists, proponents of slow growth and, now, historians are voicing fears that the next big victory will go to the Walt Disney Co., which plans to build Disney's America, a historical theme park, 3 miles from the Manassas, Va., battlefield and 35 miles from the nation's capital.

With Disney getting $163 million in subsidies from Virginia's legislature and enthusiastic support from its governor, chances of halting the six-month-old plan seem bleak, but last week a group of more than 30 historians fired away just the same. "The Disney people," said Shelby Foote, "will do to American history what they have already done to the animal kingdom—sentimentalize it out of recognition." Princeton's James McPherson said Disney will "trivialize" subjects about which Americans already know too little. Others warned that the Virginia countryside will suffer. David McCullough, author of a bestselling Harry Truman biography, stood before photographs of urban sprawls that envelop California's Disneyland and Florida's Disney World and envisioned a "commercial blitzkrieg" of motels, souvenir shops and fast-food joints in an area that boasts more than a score of historic towns, historic districts and Civil War battle sites.


Historic sites identified by the National Trust for Historic Preservation within an hour's drive of Disney's project
VIRGINIA
KEY
● Historic towns
Civil War battlefields
Disney site
Ball's Bluff
15
Cedar Mountain
Purcellville
Leesburg
Upperville
Aldie
66
VIRGINIA
Middleburg
Washington D.C.
66
Thoroughfare Gap
Manassas
Little Washington
Warrenton
Rappahannock Station
Potomac River
Sperryville
Brandy Station
MARYLAND
95
Culpeper
Wilderness
29
Mine Run
Chancellorsville
Orange
Fredericksburg
15
Spotsylvania
Spotsylvania Courthouse
0 10 20 MILES
RICHARD GAGE—USN&WR

But not all historians oppose the project. Columbia's Eric Foner and George Washington University's James Oliver Horton were hired as consultants. Horton, who earlier had criticized Disney's portrayal of blacks in its theme parks, sees Disney's America park as "an opportunity to teach people who would never come to our classrooms or read our books." That opportunity is scheduled to start in 1998.

A HEART REVIVER, TANGLED IN RED TAPE

A toilet plunger seems an unlikely piece of lifesaving equipment. But four years ago, a 65-year-old man who collapsed with heart failure was revived by a plunger that a quick-thinking relative stuck to his chest. That innovation so intrigued cardiologist Keith Lurie and his colleagues that they developed a plungerlike device called the Ambu CardioPump. In last week's *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Lurie's team reported that heart failure patients are more likely to live long enough to be admitted to the hospital if they are treated with the pump.

But the researchers are missing some key data. The Food and Drug Administration stopped the trial early, partly because the patients were enrolled in the study before consenting to it. Lurie and others argue that unconscious patients can't consent to anything; the FDA counters that the doctors should have studied nonemergency patients who happen to have heart trouble during their hospital stays. Though ethically in the clear, the FDA's proposed trial likely would take much longer to complete. So to see the pump in action, Americans will have to travel. It's already saving lives in Austria, Britain, Canada and France.

THE FIRST
APPLICATION
OF ATM
DATA
TRANSMISSIONS

YOUTH

HIDING THE HURT. Even at 15, Clarissa Markiewicz notices peers masking the scars of abuse at home. She put her observations into words in the annual "Write Lyrics" contest sponsored by Scholastic Inc. and Elektra Entertainment, and her work last week topped 10,000 other entries. The prize will have Jackson Browne singing in a concert before Clarissa and her classmates at Buffalo's City Honors School next spring. Her entry:

Markiewicz

WHERE IT DON'T BELONG

Shows up on a school day
Anger in the vaults of his mind
Bruises on the innocent skin
of a young boy dying inside

Blame it on the kids in the schoolyard
Blame it on the TV
Place it where it don't belong
Everywhere but where it should be

Mommy didn't want to hurt him
Daddy didn't realize
The high that blinded them
shut any love out of their minds

Blame it on the kids in the schoolyard
Blame it on the TV
Place it where it don't belong
Everywhere but where it should be

Hide the wounds that kill your soul
Seem tough to cover the pain
Don't cry; don't let your feelings show
or they'll shut you up again

Where is the love inside you?
Your broken heart can't hold it now
Sorrow and pain have taken over
Only hatred have you found

Blame it on the kids in the schoolyard
Blame it on the TV
Place it where it don't belong
Everywhere but where it should be

PHOTO: COURTESY OF CLARISSA MARKIEWICZ

DATELINE

POMP IN PRETORIA, SQUALOR IN MANDELAVILLE

■ MANDELAVILLE, SOUTH AFRICA – One day after Nelson Mandela's history-altering inauguration in Pretoria, the sound of hammers clanking against tin announces the construction of new shacks in this squatter camp named for South Africa's new president. In a day or two, each shack is filled with the meager possessions of a poor black family: mattresses held aloft by bricks, benches pressed against painted tin walls, a television set powered by a car battery.

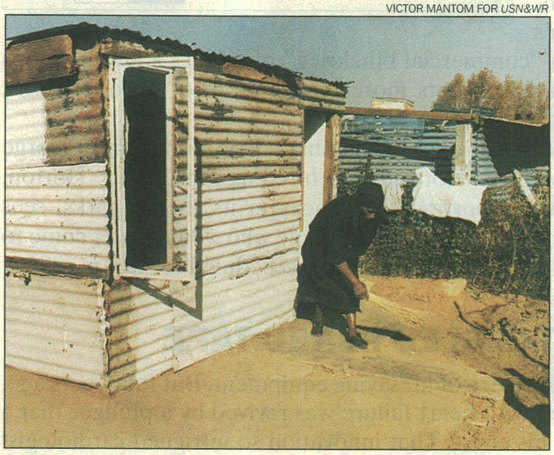
JOHN PARKIN – AP

President Mandela

There is no electrical power in Mandelaville, nor much else to make life easy. Residents see by oil lamp or candlelight at night, cook meals in cast-iron pots on outdoor fires and bathe in water collected from a communal tap. Despite its hardships, the community has grown steadily since 1990 on an open field in crowded Soweto, near Johannesburg. The plot is crammed to near capacity now, with 2,600 shacks built so close to each other that people walking through its dirt alleys must go in single file.

Mandelaville represents one of the biggest problems of the new South Africa that was inaugurated last week with pomp and praise and 21-gun salutes. The camp is one of thousands of stark settlements that have sprouted like weeds as rural blacks have moved to the peripheries of the cities, and township families have multiplied through marriages and births until some members have simply had to leave their houses. Like Mandelaville, many of the settlements have names that honor heroes of the long struggle against apartheid – Tamboville, Chris Hani Camp and Joe Slovo Camp. Slovo, the country's Communist Party leader, now serves as housing minister in Mandela's cabinet, and his challenge is immense: An estimated 7 million blacks make their homes in shacks, garages and detached back rooms.

VICTOR MANTOM FOR USN&WR



Mandelaville. *A resident sweeps her front yard.*

The housing crisis is high on the country's new agenda. "All South Africans," Mandela's African National Congress declared in a major policy statement, "have a right to a secure place in which to live in peace and dignity. Housing is a human right." Candidate Mandela had pledged to build at least 1 million new houses in the five-year period before the next scheduled election. President Mandela is expected to move quickly on that promise to poor blacks, his main constituency, with a program of subsidies, public housing, loan guarantees and other incentives to banks and home builders discouraged by apartheid policies of the past.

The massive aid should have an impact. "Fairly soon, we will begin to see major changes in the housing shortage," predicts Khehle Shubane, a political analyst and vice chairman of the National Housing Forum, a coalition of organizations concerned with the housing crisis. "While the problem will not be wiped out in the next few years, significant progress will be made in eliminating the backlog."

For Mandelaville's squatters, the change cannot come soon enough. "People would like to move," says David Vilakazi, who lives with his wife and 11-year-old niece in a two-room shack. "We want a better life, a better future." ☐ BY JERELYN EDDINGS

EPITAPH

LAST WEEK, THE VIETNAM WAR KILLED THIS MAN

"In dying, he took a part of my experience to his grave, and I felt cheated and betrayed that the man could no longer bear testimony to our ordeal."

LEWIS PULLER JR. ON THE DEATH OF A FRIEND IN HIS BOOK, "FORTUNATE SON"

He grew up in the shadow of his father, the most decorated marine in history, and a family tradition of military service that dates back to the Civil War. Before he took his life last week, Pulitzer Prize-winning author Lewis Puller Jr. had endured enough pain and displayed enough courage to satisfy his ancestors.

The father, Lt. Gen. Lew "Chesty" Puller, earned five awards of the Navy Cross in a career that included combat in Haiti in the 1920s, in Nicaragua in the '30s, in the Pacific in the '40s and in Korea in the '50s. The son, a second lieutenant, had led a Marine platoon in Vietnam for less than three months in 1968 when he stepped on a booby-trapped 105-mm howitzer shell. The explosion took off his right leg at the trunk, his left leg 10 inches below that, shredded both his hands and opened a gaping wound in his right side. He returned with a Silver Star and two Purple Hearts to a country that hated his war and turned its back on those who fought it.

ROBERT A. MARTIN – *THE FREDERICKSBURG FREE LANCE-STAR*

Father and son. *A hero and a victim*

Whisky and prayers. When his family saw him, he weighed less than 60 pounds, and his twin sister prayed he would have a swift, merciful death. His father, who had taught him that real men don't cry, wept. But the man who should have died clung to life, enduring two years of surgical repairs and grueling physical therapy. Throughout that ordeal and a decade of depression, alcoholism, addiction to painkillers and a failed suicide attempt that followed, he was sustained by the love and strength of the woman he had married just weeks before he departed for Vietnam, Linda "Toddy" Puller. But most people, uncomfortable in the presence of so battered a survivor, could not bring themselves to talk to him about the truths of the Vietnam War. He withdrew and doctored himself with Scotch whisky until, in 1981, he dried out and joined Alcoholics Anonymous.

To rid himself of the war demons, he began to write. "If I could now summon the courage to forgive my government, to forgive those whose views and actions concerning the war differed from mine and to forgive myself," he said, "I could perhaps . . . find the reason for which I had been spared, first in Vietnam and then, a second time, from an alcoholic death." His work, *Fortunate Son,* was published in 1991 to critical acclaim and a Pulitzer. His next project was to be a book about his old Navy hospital buddy, Bob Kerrey of Nebraska, who lost a leg in Vietnam, earned a Medal of Honor and won a seat in the U.S. Senate.

But the demons returned, friends said, and Puller began drinking again after 12 years of sobriety. This time, he wouldn't have Toddy; their marriage was failing, and she had moved out. His depression only deepened, and last week he told friends he feared he was losing the battle. Days later, at 48, he ended it with a single gunshot.

In a television interview in 1992, he was asked what he would say to God when he arrived in heaven. He responded: "Lt. Lewis B. Puller Jr. reporting for duty, Sir! I've already served my time in hell." ☐ BY JOSEPH L. GALLOWAY

THE WORLD'S
LARGEST
VIDEO
CONFERENCING
NETWORK

ON SOCIETY

BY JOHN LEO

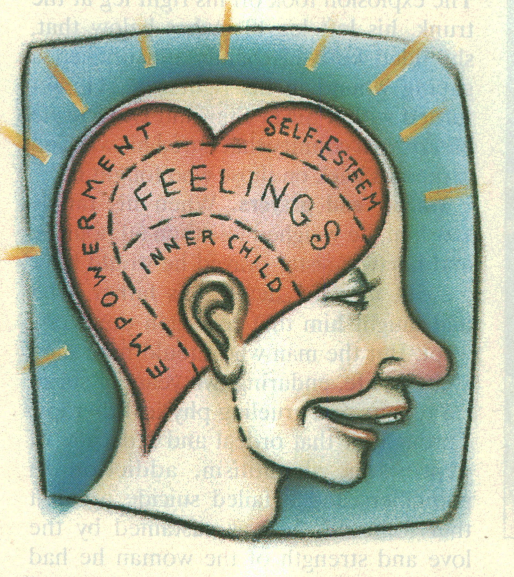
Reading, writing and recovery

I'm Dysfunctional, You're Dysfunctional, Wendy Kaminer's book criticizing the self-help movement, was loudly attacked by law students at a writing seminar. The book so disturbed the would-be lawyers, she was told, that they made the following arguments: (1) Kaminer must have had a bad experience with a support group; (2) she is lying when she denies this, and (3) her book's affectionate portrait of her father has to be dishonest. Since he had been abused as a child, as Kaminer mentions in the text, he must have abused her as well.

None of these charges is true, Kaminer said in an op-ed article in *New York Newsday,* but they show that universities are now turning out many students "who only believe authors with whom they agree." Doctrinaire attitudes are no surprise on campus these days. But there's another way of looking at it, too: The culture is now so drenched in therapeutic thinking that psychologized arguments, or nonarguments, routinely replace rational ones, even at law schools.

Like early critics of psychoanalytic theories, critics of the "therapized" culture are apt to be accused of "resistance" or "denial," just as critics of the burgeoning "repressed memory" hysteria are apt to be accused of burying some awful memories themselves.

The therapeutic worldview, alas, is a dominant one in education now. Women's studies programs around the country, for instance, are heavily therapized. Reporting in *Mother Jones* magazine on her tour of women's studies classes at four colleges, Karen Lehrman wrote: "Sometimes they consist of consciousness-raising psychobabble, with the students' feelings and experiences valued as much as anything the professor or texts have to offer." Not all programs are as bad as this, but Lehrman saw plenty to object to: "touchy-feely classes"; an emphasis on self-revelation and "a safe environment," presided over by overtly warm, encouraging, maternal teachers; and the celebration of "subjectivity over objectivity, feelings over facts, instinct over logic."



Scholars healing scholars. In the *New Republic,* Christina Hoff Sommers reported that conventions of the National Women's Studies Association Conference are marked by therapeutic uplift and healing rituals. Among the rituals are holding hands to form "a healing circle" and assuming the posture of trees to gain a feeling of rootedness and tranquillity.

Turning education into therapy likely is more of a problem in high schools and elementary schools. Some goals of "outcome-based education," also known as "performance-based education," are fashionably touchy-feely and antiacademic. One such goal that Phyllis Schlafly likes to cite is from Kentucky's plan: "Students demonstrate positive strategies for achieving and maintaining mental and emotional wellness." To reach that objective, teachers can have students "establish goals for improving and maintaining self-esteem" and, in social studies, "examine the mental and emotional wellness of a selection of past or present world leaders." Instead of studying, kids all over Kentucky may be busy psychoanalyzing Saddam Hussein or John Major.

The main therapizing force in the schools is, of course, the self-esteem movement. In his new book, *House of Cards,* Robyn Dawes of Carnegie Mellon University calls self-esteem "the Holy Grail of pop psychology." After 6,500 studies and 30,000 articles on the subject, he writes, there is still little evidence of a connection between self-esteem and academic achievement (except for one study that seems to show, rather obviously, that hard work brings both). Worse, the quest for self-esteem discourages action: Since low self-esteem is said to predict and cause school failure, there's nothing low-esteem children can do except to enter therapy or wait for the school to bestow treatment.

The other victim of the self-esteem craze is truth. Since all aspects of school—grades, curriculum, the historical record of various ethnic and racial groups—are seen through the lens of self-esteem, they are all apt to be manipulated for proper psychological effect. The claim that a black African culture built the Egyptian Pyramids and Sphinx would not have gone far without the self-esteem movement behind it, pushing the idea of the curriculum as therapy for the downtrodden.

We don't yet know what the long-term cost of feelings-based education will be, though it is likely to be quite high in relativism and self-assertion, low in critical abilities and objective truth. "Truth is highly subjective to people whose central experience is victimization," writes Kaminer, who views much of the recovery movement as an attempt by those in the comfortable middle class to claim the mantle of victimhood.

The radical subjectivity sweeping through education has many sources, but the most easily understood version of it comes from therapy. Feelings take precedence over facts and norms. In the words of one college student, "If you feel that the whole world is on top of you, then it is." And if you feel you are a victim of hate speech or harassment, the feeling itself is conclusive evidence that you are right. In the world of feelings, the indictment is the conviction. But what happens to society when everyone is encouraged to think like this? ■

ILLUSTRATION BY SAM HUNDLEY FOR *USN&WR*

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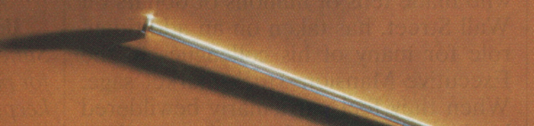

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WASHINGTON WHISPERS

OXFORD *seethes over switch of Clinton's speech to Cambridge*

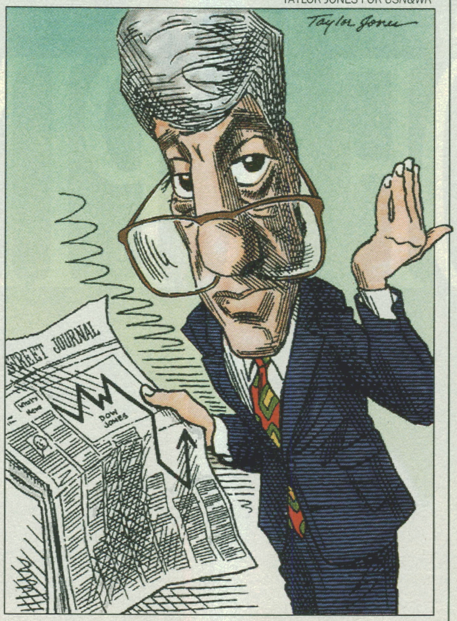
PRESIDENT *to invoke generational theme in D-Day address*

ROBERT RUBIN *gets new White House role: stock market sage*

■ **Change of venue.** Officials at Oxford University, where Bill Clinton was a Rhodes scholar in the 1960s, are furious because of his abrupt cancellation of a major speech at the university on the eve of the 50th-anniversary D-Day celebrations. Not only was Oxford's academic routine upset by the arrival of three successive White House advance teams, but even more disappointing, Clinton will deliver his speech just outside Cambridge, at a World War II cemetery, after the Omaha Beach commemoration on June 6. The switch raised speculation that the White House is trying to avoid reminding the thousands of veterans who will gather in Normandy next month that during Clinton's years at Oxford, he dodged the draft and led antiwar protests outside the U.S. Embassy in London. Stressing that Clinton will stop at Oxford at the end of his trip, the White House denies that his youthful past had anything to do with the schedule change. According to a Clinton aide, the real reason for the switch is that British Prime Minister John Major felt an American-British cemetery was the right site for the speech.

■ **Promises, promises.** *The White House is also trying to smooth relations with the Germans, who are excluded from this year's D-Day commemoration. After the 40th-anniversary celebrations, diplomats of the World War II Allies promised the Germans a role in this year's rites. Now, Bonn has been told that it will have to wait until next year's 50th-anniversary celebrations marking the end of the war in Europe. Meanwhile, in his quest for an original and appropriate theme for his D-Day speeches in Europe, President Clinton is expected to meet with Stephen Ambrose, author of a major history of the Allied invasion of Western Europe (essay, Page 62). One prospective theme: As the first president born after World War II, Clinton will ask his own baby boom generation to match the sacrifices made by the D-Day generation.*

TAYLOR JONES FOR *USN&WR*



White House adviser Robert Rubin
"The market goes up; the market goes down."

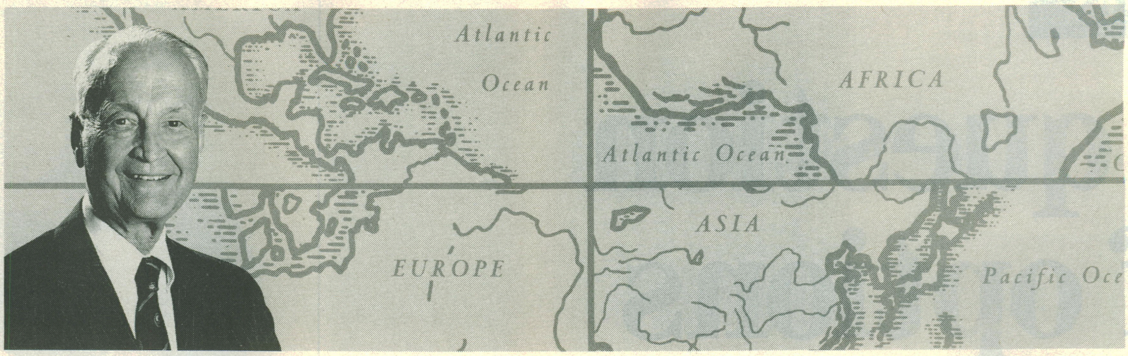
■ **The sage's advice.** Robert Rubin, the senior White House economic adviser who made tens of millions of dollars on Wall Street, has taken on an additional role for many of his colleagues in the Executive Mansion: stock market sage. When they feel particularly bewildered by the gyrations of the markets, staffers ask Rubin for his interpretation of what's happening and why. By now, Rubin—a former cochairman of Goldman Sachs, the investment banking firm renowned for its financial prowess—has developed a routine for dealing with the inquiries. He takes off his eyeglasses, pauses contemplatively, looks his colleague squarely in the eye and declares: "The market goes up; the market goes down."

■ **Exodus expected.** *With a French priest and nun added last week to the list of foreigners murdered recently in Algeria, France is drawing up secret plans to evacuate 40,000 of its citizens from the strife-torn nation. Since last September, Islamic fundamentalists, who have threatened to kill every non-Muslim foreigner in the country, have slain 34. The French are so worried that they have quietly agreed to provide military assistance to the secular government to secure its airports and seaports for an evacuation. In Washington, the State Department has warned Americans to stay out of Algeria, and it has told the fewer than 500 who remain in that country to leave "unless they have effective protection."*

■ **Second chance.** Tired of listening to the Army, Navy, Air Force and Marine Corps whine to Congress that they don't have the resources to carry out the nation's military strategy of being able to fight two wars simultaneously, the Pentagon has decided to give the four services another in-house budget hearing. Deputy Defense Secretary John Deutch has warned the services that taking their beefs to the Hill won't bring more funds for ships, tanks and planes. Instead, Deutch has reopened the internal review process. One reason: waning congressional support for the two-war strategy. Underscoring the point, Rep. Ike Skelton, a senior member of the House Armed Services Committee, recently wrote Defense Secretary William Perry a seven-page letter urging him to scrub the strategy. Skelton, a pro-defense Democrat from Missouri, does not believe the Pentagon has the forces to fight two wars at the same time. Wrote Skelton: "The only realistic way to deal with the problem is to change the strategy."

■ **United deadbeats.** *When the United States recently announced its guidelines for participating in United Nations peacekeeping operations, it declared that beginning in 1996, it would pay only 25 percent of their cost—not the 31.7 percent assessment imposed by the world body. Few officials at the U.N.'s New York headquarters were surprised: The United States is already a world-class deadbeat. The latest figures show that Washington's debt has risen to a record $1.2 billion. But America is not alone on the deadbeat list. Indeed, of the U.N.'s 184 members, only two nations—Ireland and Micronesia—have no outstanding bills for either back dues or assessments for peacekeeping operations, which currently number 18.*

EDITED BY CHARLES FENYVESI



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A question of options

How the Clinton administration has painted itself into a corner on Haiti

Haiti is half an island, today something less than a whole country, 6½ million souls inhabiting a downward spiral of economic misery and political mayhem. Born of a slave revolt 190 years ago, the Caribbean nation has seen its unique promise squandered by a nearly unbroken succession of brutal, corrupt and downright bizarre political leaders. For Americans, the place has long been a conundrum. Occupied by U.S. troops early in this century, blessed later by millions of dollars in American aid, Haiti has descended unswervingly into the current maelstrom, with Washington now actively considering the use of military force as a United Nations deadline ticks down before even tougher economic sanctions are imposed. Of no strategic importance, Haiti has somehow managed to confound every recent American president but Gerald Ford, who served so briefly he did not have to deal with it.

Now it is Bill Clinton's turn. Before he entered the Oval Office, Clinton, in discussing Haiti, conjured the sound of trumpet blasts. "My administration will stand up for democracy," Clinton said, denouncing George Bush's "cruel" policy of forcibly repatriating Haitian refugees. As for the military junta that forced out Haiti's only elected leader, the Rev. Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Clinton rejected its claim to leadership, saying he would work to "buttress democratic forces in Haiti . . . and throughout the Western hemisphere."

SUSAN WALSH—AP

Aristide, the focus of U.S. policy, has been a critic of the administration.

Things have not worked out that way. An examination of the Clinton administration's posture toward Haiti shows a policy remarkable at once for the ambition of its goals—and the timidity of its actions. As with other areas of foreign policy, Clinton's episodic attention troubles even some aides. "It's reacting to domestic politics," says a State Department official. "Now we are all trying to figure out how to make it work."

The White House vigorously defends its efforts in Haiti—and in other foreign arenas where its policies have come under fire. "We came in here inheriting three very tough problems—Haiti, Somalia and Bosnia," says an administration official. "They all deal with internal collapses—unlike classic security issues; the rules are harder to define. In Haiti, the most important thing is that we refused to give up."

A review of the administration's Haiti policy highlights a number of problems. *U.S. News* reporters reviewed confidential government cables and memorandums and interviewed more than 30 administration officials, diplomats and military and intelligence officers, as well as aides and advisers to President Aristide. The review identifies a handful of critical decisions marred by miscommunication and logistical snafus. Principal findings:

- A series of late-night phone calls between a presidential adviser and an Aristide aide weakened a key deal to forcibly remove Haiti's military leaders from power.
- The decision to withdraw a U.S. Navy ship from Port-au-Prince, the capital of Haiti, was made without the knowledge of U.S. diplomats, who later cabled Washington saying the ship could have docked if given one more day.
- A State Department cable and intelligence intercepts have questioned the heart of the Clinton administration's policy—Aristide's democratic bona fides.
- Although Clinton publicly promised to restore Aristide to office, administration officials were troubled by intercepts of phone calls from Aristide to his supporters vowing vengeance on his opponents after he returned to power.
- While the administration's policy was built on the idea of pressuring Haiti's military rulers to step aside, the CIA

DANIEL MOREL–AP

General Cédras, right, with his newly chosen provisional president, 81-year-old Emile Jonassaint, a judge

consistently warned that the military leader, Lt. Gen. Raoul Cédras, and his cronies could be removed only by force.

Even before being sworn in as president, Bill Clinton made the first foreign-policy decision of his administration, and it was on Haiti. Clinton's campaign pronouncements about reversing the Bush administration's repatriation policy on Haitian refugees had spawned an orgy of boat building in Haiti's impoverished coastal towns. A wave of Haitian refugees in Florida would be a disaster. Clinton made the announcement: The Bush repatriation policy would remain in effect. "Once the alternatives were explained to him," says Warren Zimmermann, then director of the State Department's Bureau for Refugee Programs, "it was a decision that made itself." What it wasn't, however, was a particularly auspicious beginning.

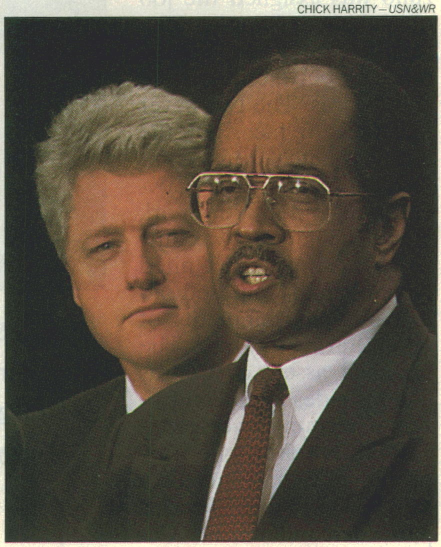
Father Aristide was not a congenial partner for Washington. After the Haitian military arranged Aristide's ouster in September 1991, a military adviser raided his medicine cabinet in the presidential quarters and provided a long list of its contents to the CIA. The new Haitian president, the CIA was told, was taking lithium and other drugs for treatment of mental depression. A letter, allegedly from a Haitian neurosurgeon, described Aristide as a "psychotic manic depressive" and referred to treatment Aristide had undergone in Canadian hospitals a decade earlier. Many details about the physician's report and the drugs–none of the vials had Aristide's name on them–were questioned. Today, Aristide's opponents still use the allegations against him and some analysts still question Aristide's reliability. "He can drive you crazy," says a State Department official who has worked closely with Aristide. "But that doesn't mean he *is* crazy."

Other evidence confirmed, however, that Aristide would be, at best, a difficult partner for the Clinton administration. In a speech days before he was toppled, as his supporters were being killed, Aristide described the practice of necklacing–placing burning tires around the necks of his opponents–as a "beautiful instrument." According to several informed sources, U.S. intelligence agencies also would intercept phone calls from Aristide in the United States pledging violent retribution against his opponents. Much has been made of the CIA's unflattering psychological profile of Aristide, but the more troubling parts of the intelligence community's reporting have to do with the instability that could ensue in Haiti if Aristide were returned.

President Clinton had been briefed thoroughly on these and other aspects of the Haiti situation before his first meeting with Aristide in the White House on March 16, 1993. Clinton was committed, he said, to "stronger measures" to restore Aristide to power. "I want to make it clear in the strongest possible terms," Clinton said, "that we will not now or ever support the continuation of an illegal government in Haiti."

The fly in the ointment. The next step seemed pretty straightforward. Since the fly in the Haitian ointment was the military, the thing to do was remove it. Working closely with Lawrence Pezzullo, then Clinton's special envoy to Haiti, a Pentagon team led by a charismatic Marine lieutenant general named Jack Sheehan, who first set foot in Haiti in 1964 and knew it well, would take on the job of remaking Haiti's military. Their plan called for a United Nations team to transform Haiti's 7,000-man military into a smaller force that would concentrate on rebuilding Haiti's shattered infrastructure and patrolling its long border with the Dominican Republic on the island of Hispaniola. Canadian authorities would take the lead in building a new civilian Haitian police force.

CHICK HARRITY–*USN&WR*



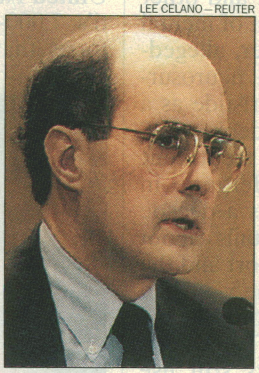
Clinton's new special envoy to Haiti, former Congressman Bill Gray, will help quiet at least some of the critics.

Things began lurching ahead. The "transformation" plan for the Haitian military was approved by then-Secretary of Defense Les Aspin. President Clinton announced tougher sanctions against the Haitian military in June 1993. Soon, a deal seemed in prospect. Aristide had two principal demands. Unlike the Clinton administration, which had adopted its predecessor's gradualist approach on tightening economic sanctions, Aristide wanted the toughest sanctions possible imposed—but for only a short time. More important, Aristide was convinced that General Cédras and his colleagues would never relinquish power unless they were forced to do so. Oddly enough, the CIA's Haiti analysts were predicting the same thing.

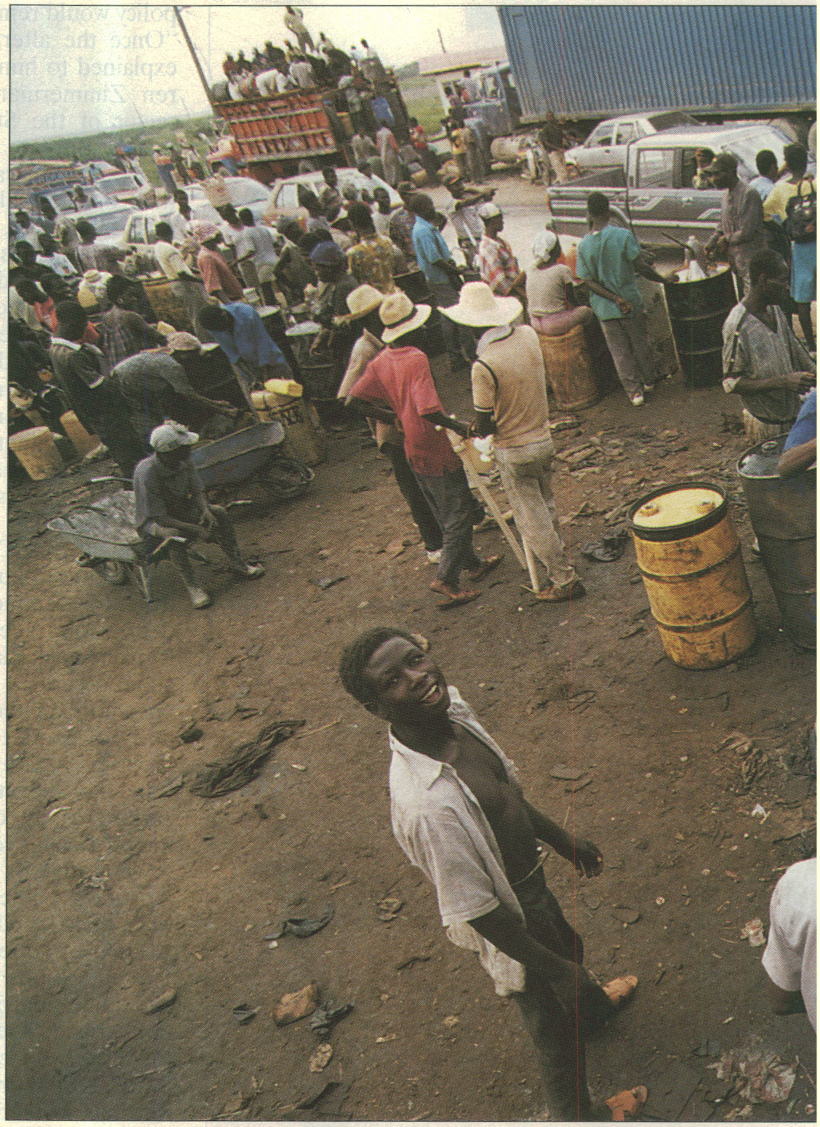
CHARLIE ARCHAMBAULT—USN&WR

Anthony Lake, Clinton's national security aide, has been a key player.

LEE CELANO—REUTER



Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott: a strong voice from Foggy Bottom



In an area of Port-au-Prince called "Kuwait City," selling black-market

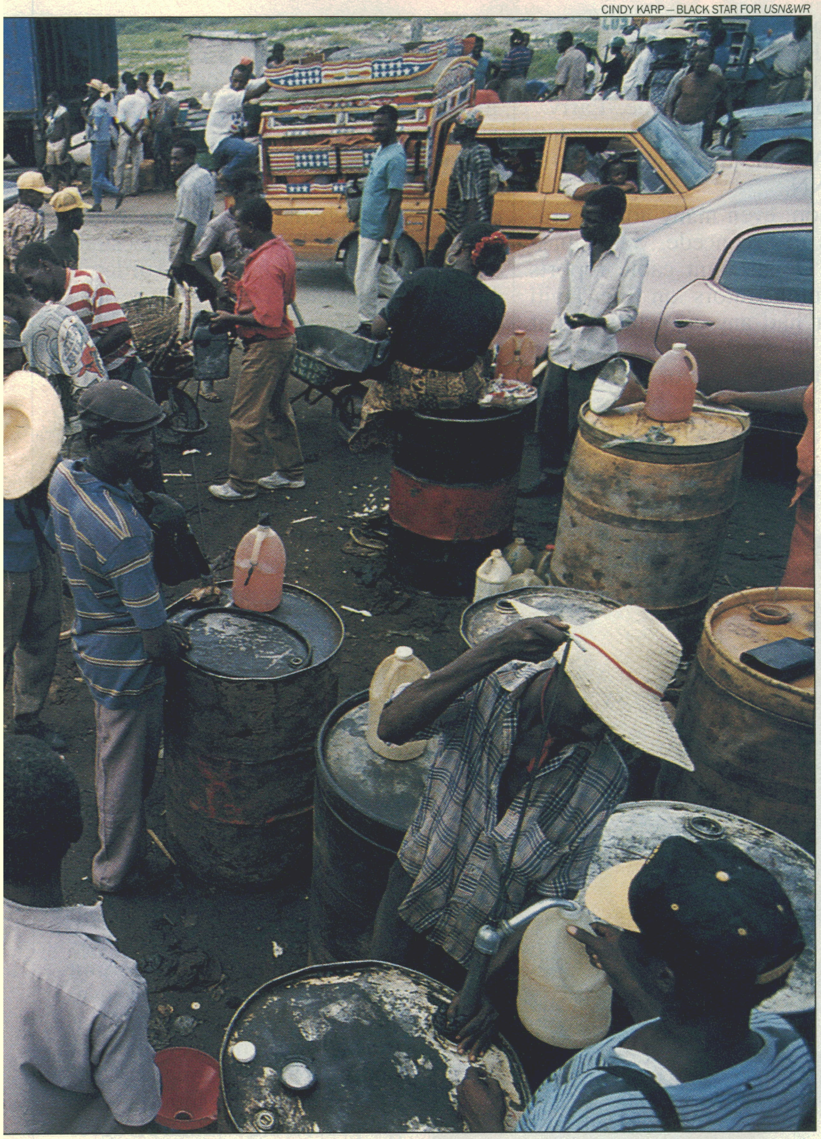
Clinton understood the problem, but his aides believed the two sides had to negotiate. Anthony Lake, Clinton's national security adviser, was the godfather of the scheme. Larry Pezzullo was assigned the job of making it happen. The result was an accord reached between Aristide and Cédras. The two never met face to face, but the deal was hatched in a comfortable building on Governors Island in New York Harbor. The date was July 2. By this time, the United Nations had imposed an embargo on shipments of oil and arms to Haiti. The financial assets of Cédras and his aides had been frozen in accounts overseas.

Deal breaker. Cédras, presumably, had incentive to talk. Aristide, for his part, demanded that Cédras, other members of his high command and Col. Joseph Michel François, the head of Haiti's repressive police force, be required to resign their posts as a condition of any deal. Aristide had already agreed, reluctantly, to a delay of four months. At 3 a.m. on July 3, the terms of the deal seemed solid. Michael Barnes was a former congressman whose law firm was representing Aristide's government-in-exile. He got a call in his hotel room from Tony Lake. Cédras & Co. would leave. Four hours later, Barnes's phone rang again. This time it was a State Department official named Charles Redman. Somehow the terms of the deal had changed. Only Cédras would be required to leave the Army. His aides could assume Army assignments outside the high command. Barnes phoned Lake in a fury: "This is a deal breaker," he shouted.

But it wasn't. Twelve hours later, after U.N. guarantees that would force Cédras's aides to either retire or assume military posts outside of Haiti, Aristide relented. At the United Nations Plaza Hotel late in the morning of July 3, Aristide was confronted with the tearful entreaties of friends and supporters; still he held firm. With a grim smile, he affixed his signature to the Governors Island accord. "I signed it," Haiti's exiled president said. "I will keep my word."

One of the stranger things about the Governors Island agreement was that both Cédras and Aristide, having rejected the earlier plan for the "transformation" program for Haiti's military, were demanding it now: Details of the plan were specified in Paragraph 5 of the accord. At the Pentagon, General Sheehan prepared to make things happen with the Haitian military. Simultaneously, Dante Caputo, the United Nations special negotiator for Haiti, moved to Port-au-Prince to begin laying the groundwork for both the police and military missions. Within a month of the signing of the Governors Island accord, the first American service personnel began showing up in Haiti to survey the job at hand. The personnel were dispatched from the Atlantic Command in Norfolk, Va. Since the "transformed" Haitian Army was to be largely an engineering force, many of the earliest Pentagon personnel dispatched temporarily to Haiti were Seabees, specialists from the Navy's Civil Engineer Corps. Things were beginning to accelerate.

But trouble was also brewing. For one thing, many of the newly arrived military personnel were shocked by life in Haiti. The place is brutally poor, CINDY KARP – BLACK STAR FOR *USN&WR*

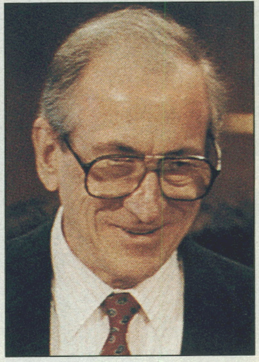


fuel. Tougher sanctions could shut down even this part of the economy.

DARRYL HEIKES – *USN&WR*

R. James Woolsey's CIA analysts have questioned Aristide's reliability.

JOHN DURICKA – AP



Special envoy Pezzullo, since forced out, urged Aristide to deal with the Army.

and even before the ouster of Aristide, political violence had become something of a way of life. By early September, although unarmed human rights monitors roamed the country without serious incident, many of the military specialists from the Atlantic Command were phoning back to Norfolk with horror stories: There was gunfire every night, and bloodied corpses were turning up daily in the streets. Within weeks, the phone calls from Port-au-Prince to Norfolk constituted a separate but very real intelligence network. Coincidentally, the reports to Norfolk jibed with reporting by the CIA and the Defense Intelligence Agency about increasing violence in Haiti. The violence was among Haitians, however; foreign aid workers and diplomats were seldom even bothered.

Within the Pentagon, there were growing concerns. Adm. David Jeremiah, the vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, would soon become chairman, following Gen. Colin Powell's retirement. Jeremiah was worried about two things. One was the increasing violence in Haiti and growing reports that Cédras might renege on the Governors Island deal. The second concern was more prosaic but also more real. The USS Harlan County was due to depart for Port-au-Prince any day with 600 trainers and engineers on board, but there were just a fraction of the anticipated 500 Canadian police trainers on the ground in Haiti. "Our force protection would be underpinned by the police," says a senior Pentagon official. "The groundwork wasn't prepared."

Jeremiah expressed these concerns to Secretary Aspin, who was in Norfolk on October 1 to speak to the newly reorganized Atlantic Command. Aspin asked the commanding admiral, Paul David Miller, about the situation in Haiti. Miller was not encouraging. The next day, Jeremiah, at a White House meeting, outlined conditions for the Haiti mission. The day after that, halfway around the world in Somalia, 18 U.S. Army Rangers lost their lives in a vicious firefight. In Washington, the jitters over Haiti turned to shakes. Some Pentagon officials say the nervousness was justified by the news coming out of Haiti. Lawrence Pezzullo, the administration's diplomatic point man, was skeptical. "All of a sudden," Pezzullo said, "Haiti became Somalia."

Smaller issues intervened. The Harlan County was supposed to arrive in Port-au-Prince on October 11. Terms of the transition plan called for Pentagon personnel to carry side arms into Haiti as protection. Somehow, in translating from English to French to Creole, "side arms" turned out as "pistols." There was one problem with that: Seabees and others among the 600 people on the Harlan County didn't carry pistols; their personal side arms were M-16 assault rifles. With the Harlan County steaming toward Port-au-Prince, Pezzullo hurried to inform Robert Malval, Aristide's increasingly unhappy prime minister. Reluctantly, Malval agreed to the last-minute change; Cédras and the military were not to be informed. This might have been fine except for one unfortunate gaffe. On a Sunday morning television talk show, a day before the Harlan County would steam into Port-au-Prince harbor, Secretary Aspin was being grilled about the tragedy in Somalia when the questioning turned to Haiti. Would the 600 Pentagon trainers and engineers be unarmed, ABC's Sam Donaldson asked Aspin. Not at all, Aspin replied. "They'll have M-16s." Within an hour, the news had ricocheted around Port-au-Prince. The response from Cédras was predictable: double-cross. Says Pezzullo: "That blew it for us nicely."

The wind was calm and the skies fair

ALASTAIR WORDEN – U.S. COAST GUARD

Clinton's recent promise to process Haitian refugees at sea could prompt a new exodus for Florida's shores.

when the Harlan County arrived at the lip of the Port-au-Prince harbor shortly after noon on October 11. Several dozen unarmed thugs were waiting at the dock; earlier that morning, they had jostled an embassy car carrying the chargé d'affaires, Vicki Huddleston. To Huddleston, Pezzullo and Dante Caputo, the U.N. envoy waiting for the ship, the demonstration was annoying – no more. Cédras, reached by phone, told Huddleston he knew nothing of the little demonstration. An impasse ensued. Later, on the water, two tiny Haitian patrol boats menaced the Harlan County, and the ship's captain ordered the boats tracked with a radar-fitted Gatling gun. The patrol boats departed. In Port-au-Prince early that evening, the Harlan County cast a tall silhouette against the darkening tropical sky.

In Washington, the secure phone lines from the White House purred quietly. Details remain unclear, but Anthony Lake spoke with Les Aspin, and the president was briefed: The Harlan County would be ordered back to Norfolk. The decision was clearly one with which several administration officials felt uncomfortable. At a meeting the next morning in the White House Situation Room, Pezzullo called the demonstration on the dock in Port-au-Prince "a bit of theater, no more." CIA Director R. James Woolsey disagreed, and Pezzullo rose to try and refute the argument. Lake cut him off: "The decision has been made, Larry." The Harlan County weighed anchor soon after. Aristide heard about it still later – on CNN.

The decision, even many administration officials now concede, was a fiasco. A State Department cable reports that the demonstrators on the Haiti docks "never had any expectation that they would in fact be successful in prompting the departure of the vessel." A study of the incident by the U.S. Army War College delivers a more scathing indictment. "The decision to withdraw the ship from Haitian waters was taken without consultation with or even notification of the United Nations, President Aristide or Prime Minister Malval. It left the impression that the United States had cut and run . . . frightened away by a few unruly thugs." From the Harlan County incident in October until March of this year, Washington's Haiti policy would be marred by similar dramatic episodes, each side shooting down new initiatives to get them back together. "After Harlan County," Pezzullo sighs, "it was like trying to put Humpty Dumpty together again."

Dithering. The Harlan County episode may be the most embarrassing in the Clinton administration's handling of the Haiti account, but it is not the most troubling. The yearlong display of dithering and direction changing has come with a price, a high one. Today, having declared his own Haiti policy a failure and ordered his aides to conduct a full-blown review, President Clinton increasingly finds himself confronting two unpalatable choices: dumping Aristide or intervening with force. A confidential 11-page State Department cable reflects the ambivalence within the administration about Aristide: "If the U.S. and the U.N. choose to remain engaged with Aristide, they must also remain engaged in human rights monitoring and institution building in Haiti, otherwise Aristide will continue to use lawlessness in Haiti to force his own agenda of intervention." Aristide disputes the cable's conclusions – and worries that even if Clinton is serious about returning him to Haiti, many of his key aides don't support the tough measures that may be necessary to make it happen.

That agenda, which could well result now in the deployment of American troops in a unilateral or multilateral invasion of Haiti, may satisfy Clinton's growing number of critics on Capitol Hill. Indeed, Clinton's decision this month to begin processing Haitian refugees aboard ships in the Caribbean instead of sending them back to Haiti immediately had the effect of ending a popular activist's hunger strike against the administration's Haiti policy.

But it is hardly a solution. Nor is the option of increased sanctions. The U.N. deadline for Cédras and his aides to leave Haiti will expire later this month, when the tighter economic sanctions will take effect. No one expects them to work; but they could well result in a new wave of Haitians taking to the high seas in boats, which would only compound the administration's problems. So barring the unexpected departure of Cédras and his colleagues, the only option left to President Clinton may be the one he relishes least – the use of military force. ■

BY BRIAN DUFFY WITH LINDA ROBINSON AND KATHIE KLARREICH IN HAITI AND BRUCE B. AUSTER, TIM ZIMMERMANN, JOSEPH P. SHAPIRO AND MATTHEW COOPER IN WASHINGTON

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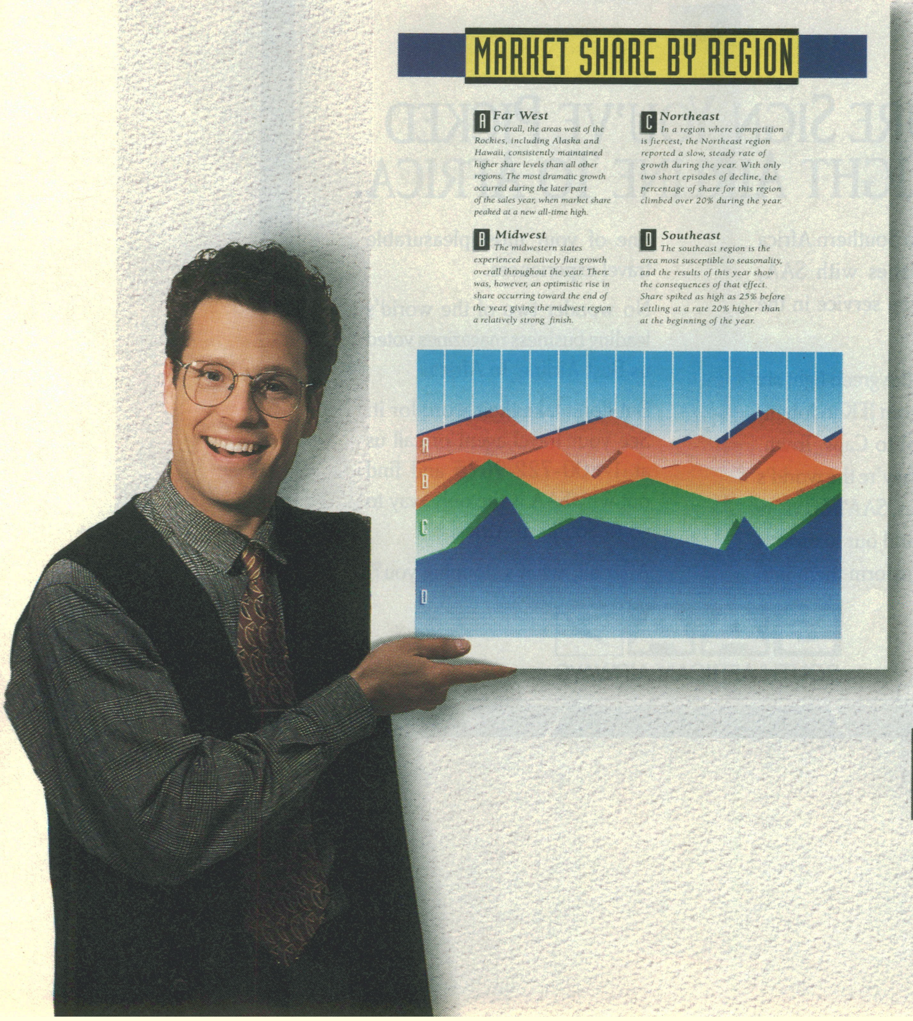

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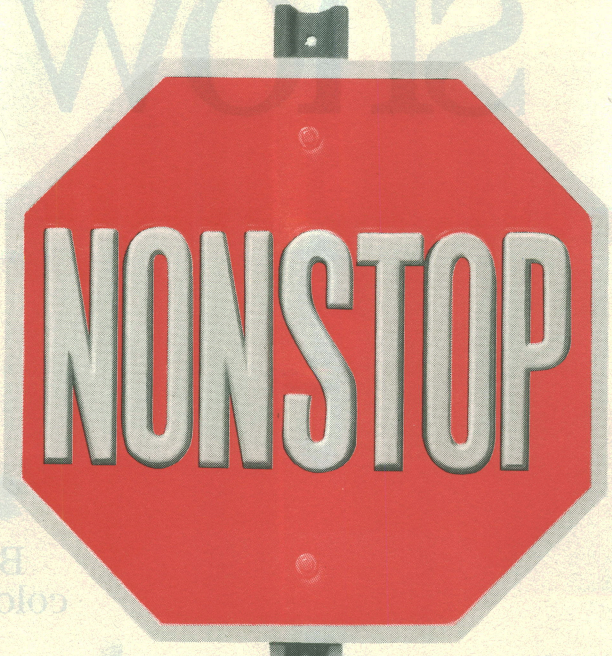

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The sad way kids look at integration

40 years later: Segregation's emotional legacy

Twelve-year-old Nicole Hayman has some special talents, but none allows her to shine where it seems to matter the most—in the classroom. She can jump rope double-dutch style for long stretches without tangling her feet. She is slightly bigger than her mostly white fifth-grade classmates, and occasionally, when angry, she punches or slaps them in the back of the head. They are afraid of her, and that gives her a lot of power in the schoolyard. But for all her strengths, in the classroom Nicole feels powerless. She frequently stumbles over words when reading aloud. When the teacher allows her white classmates to do things, and not her, she feels that the teacher dislikes black people. "Sometimes, I feel like I can't do anything right," Nicole says. "Sometimes, I feel like a failure."

One of the most striking and disheartening things about America 40 years after the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision is how many black children like Nicole feel bad about themselves and African-Americans in general. A big factor driving the *Brown* decision, Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote, was the belief that separating black children "from others of similar age and qualifications solely because of their race generates a [permanent] feeling of inferiority." Yet, a *U.S. News* survey of those living in some of the communities involved in the *Brown* case found many Nicole Haymans—still haunted by the sense that the world is inherently unequal and views them as worthless.

The stifling implications of this judgment frighten their elders. "Many of the students have just learned to accept failure," says Gayla Williams, an English teacher at Springhill Elementary School in Summerton, S.C. "It's hard to get some of them to see the importance of education." To the children, the reasons for this despair are varied, complicated and devastating. Listen to:

Brittany Williams, 11: "I know that some black people study hard, but white people just seem to get better grades. Black people have to sacrifice to get jobs, and white people don't have to do any of that." She's a student at Prince Edward County Elementary School in Farmville, Va.

Jerome Robinson, 12: "I don't like school. [My white teacher] doesn't treat me like a student. She acts like I'm not even here." He's a sixth grader at Alexis I. DuPont Middle School in Wilmington, Del.

Dilip Nyala, 12: "I don't show respect if I don't get respect." He's a student at DuPont School.

Stephanie Fells, 11: "I don't really like white people that much. They are just beating black people at everything." She's a student in Farmville.

Chiriga Howie, 10: "A lot of the white girls just look at me and start staring and whispering. Sometimes, they act like I'm not even there."

Just as chilling is the portrait of racial shame that some of the children draw—inspired at least in some measure by the picture of their race that is shown in the mass media. "Black people kill more than white people," says 11-year-old Shaya Colbert from Farmville. "Most of the time you look at television, and you see black people killing somebody or being convicted of something."

This is the bleak picture of integration that came through clearly in interviews with more than 400 people, including parents, educators, community leaders and youths in Wilmington and Prince Edward County (both of which have integrated schools) and Summerton (which is predominantly black). They are places where research about Afri-

SCOTT GOLDSMITH FOR *USN&WR*

WILMINGTON, DEL.

Nicole Hayman, 12 (left), her grandmother, Joanne Hayman (center), and mother, Crystal Wilson, struggle against forces of disillusionment and self-doubt that have plagued many in their community for more than three generations.

	1950		Most recent	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
■ INCOME	$2,411	$1,464	$21,615	$9,016
■ UNEMPLOYED	3%	8%	3%	11%
■ HIGH SCHOOL GRADS	35%	15%	77%	60%

Income: 1950 median individual; 1989 mean individual

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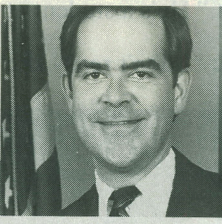

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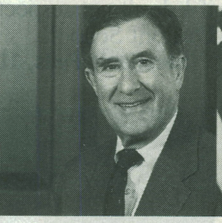

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can-American children helped influence the *Brown* ruling. Many of the adults who had fought for integration now worry that it is the *cause* of low self-esteem among black children. "I had such high hopes," said Joanne Hayman, Nicole's grandmother and a lifelong resident of Wilmington. "I look at these kids now, and I say to myself, 'My God, what has happened?' They all had such promise." Hayman believes that many white teachers are not interested in seeing the black students succeed and pay more attention to the white students. "In the segregated school system you learned. People pushed you because they believed in you. I can't say that is happening now."

The good side. Of course, integration of schools has had a very salutary impact on the lives of many African-Americans. There is a vast body of research that documents how blacks who attend desegregated schools typically achieve higher test scores than those who attend segregated schools. But more recent data show that trend beginning to wane. According to the federal Department of Education, reading and math assessments between 1978 and 1988 show that black 13-year-olds in segregated schools made higher gains than did blacks in desegregated schools. The data are the same for other age groups. Years ago, reading levels for black 9-year-olds were higher for those who went to desegregated schools; by 1990, the reading levels of students in desegregated schools were virtually the same as those in segregated schools.

It is hard to refute the other benefits of integration. Blacks who graduate from integrated schools typically earn higher incomes, form serious interracial friendships and are more likely to graduate from college and hold good jobs. "Those who want to go back to segregation either have bad memories or weren't alive during segregation," says Edgar Epps, a professor of education at the University of Chicago.

Still, a deep disillusionment has settled over black youths in the very places where a half century ago researchers argued that the legal separation of the races was the root of children's despair. Fourteen years before *Brown,* psychologist Kenneth Clark and his wife, Mamie, conducted race-awareness tests in Wilmington, Summerton and Prince Edward County that seemed to show that African-American kids suffered from low self-esteem as a result of segregation. Clark was alarmed to find that black children showed strong preferences for white dolls and rejected black dolls. He wrote a paper discussing the harmful effects of segregation that weighed heavily on Justice Warren when he wrote *Brown.*

After the decision, the court was attacked for using the work of social scientists to resolve a serious constitutional issue. Some critics rejected the Clarks' central conclusion that segregation posed a serious threat to the psychological well-being of black children. And indeed, the Clarks' own research showed that *fewer* black children attending segregated schools suffered from inferiority feelings than did black children in integrated environments: About 50 percent of the blacks in segregated schools thought the black doll was bad compared with 71 percent of the children in integrated environments. More sophisticated studies in the years since the Clarks' work have found the same thing.

Some critics have challenged the Clarks' methodology, too. They note that because there were no commercially manufactured black dolls at the time, the idea of a black doll was foreign even to most black children. The Clarks painted the white doll babies brown, which made them unattractive in appearance. That might have been another reason for black children—even those with a high sense of self-worth—to select the white dolls. Kenneth Clark is recovering from a stroke and was unavailable for comment on the criticisms of his work.

SCOTT GOLDSMITH FOR *USN&WR*

PRINCE EDWARD COUNTY, VA.

Teacher Edwilda Isaac was one of the students in 1951 who led a protest against the inferior condition of their all-black segregated school. Now she is an elementary school teacher who worries about the impact of integration on black children.

	1950		Most recent	
	WHITE	BLACK	WHITE	BLACK
■ **INCOME**	$1,072	$832	$10,635	$6,300
■ **UNEMPLOYED**	1%	4%	4%	13%
■ **HIGH SCHOOL GRADS**	34%	7%	71%	44%

In recent years, the most searing attack on integration's impact on children is the belief in some quarters that integration has unwittingly harmed the institutions and social structures in black communities that helped shelter blacks from white racism. "You know, Africans have a saying that it takes a whole village to raise a child. Now, it's just not there in the black community," says Edwilda Isaac, a teacher these days who was an eighth grader in 1951 when students in Prince Edward County protested the inferior treatment accorded their all-black segregated school.

Many of the adults visited by *U.S. News* have given up on integration because it has never been a reality in their communities despite the declarations of courts and the aspirations of its proponents. Forty years after segregated schools were banned in Summerton, only 1 percent of the students in the public schools are white. And some of the worst aspects of life under segregation remain. The Springhill facilities are more than 40 years old, with poor lighting fixtures, missing floor tiles, crumbling ceilings and peeling paint. Until recently, there was no money to improve or build schools. A new high school is tentatively scheduled to open this fall, and the elementary students will inherit the high school after it is renovated. Until then, Summerton elementary students will continue to come to a school where the only recreation equipment is a basketball court.

"Disgusting." Not surprisingly, this produces a special brand of hopelessness in children. "Mostly, whites have more things than blacks," explains Tiffany Bennett, a sixth grader at Springhill. Her lunchtime companion, Leslie Dingle, 11, adds: "They have better houses, better schools and better cars." Of her school, Dingle says: "It's disgusting."

Clearly, one of the forces driving the disillusionment with integration is some residents' notion that life in these places has gotten tougher since *Brown.* In Clarendon County, where Summerton is located, the unemployment rate for blacks was 1 percent in 1950. It was 14 percent in 1990. About 95 percent of all the students attending school in Summerton come from families so poor that they qualify to receive a free lunch. In Prince Edward County, the unemployment rate for blacks was 4 percent in 1950. It was 13 percent in 1990.

Nicole Hayman's mother, Crystal Wilson, is all too familiar with what her daughter is going through, because she felt the same sense of failure while in school. But she was guided through those troubled years by the nurturing hand of her mother, Joanne Hayman. Wilson is sure she can do the same thing for Nicole: "My daughter has been labeled, and she's having a tough time, but I'm fighting for her." For many other African-American children still wondering if they will have anything to contribute to society, the future is not nearly as bright. ■

BY CONSTANCE JOHNSON

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■ **U.S. NEWS**

New black power on Capitol Hill

A once marginal caucus flexes its muscles

There is a new watchword on Capitol Hill: Check with the black caucus. With 38 Democratic House members (and one Republican), the caucus has emerged as a major power broker on issues ranging from crime to Haiti. Says an aide to the House leadership: "They represent a big group, and they're serious players."

Take the razor-thin vote earlier this month that approved a ban on 19 kinds of assault weapons. A key reason for the outcome: All but one black Democrat backed the ban, including a dozen from Southern states that traditionally oppose all gun-control measures. Rep. Mel Reynolds, a Chicago lawmaker who cosponsored the ban, explained the broad support: "We get affected by black-on-black crime more than anyone else."

The caucus's power has grown because its members are more numerous, thanks to redistricting; they are a savvy batch of seasoned politicians, and their chairman, Kweisi Mfume, has injected a new sense of energy and solidarity. In addition, the decision by House Republicans not to cooperate on many issues means that Democratic leaders rely more than ever on black-caucus votes. "People talk to you in an unbelievably different way when they think you're influential with a bloc of votes," says caucus veteran Rep. Charles Rangel of New York.

CHICK HARRITY—USN&WR

THE BLACK CAUCUS

Rep. Kweisi Mfume (left), the caucus chairman, has infused it with a new sense of energy and solidarity and helped make it a key force on many issues.

In the first 16 months of the Clinton administration, the black caucus has:

- ■ Blocked consideration of Clinton's budget until the president promised to protect programs like the earned-income tax credit and child immunization.
- ■ Forced a greater role for political-action committees into the House campaign-reform bill. Blacks argue that since they often represent poor districts, they need outside contributions.
- ■ Sponsored proposals in the House-passed crime bill that allot more than $5 billion for prevention programs and allow death-row inmates to argue that their convictions were racially biased.
- ■ Agitated for a change in the administration's Haitian policy (story, Page 26). Several caucus members were arrested for demonstrating in front of the White House before a former member, William Gray, was appointed as Clinton's special envoy to Haiti.

There were also stinging defeats—especially Clinton's decision to abandon Lani Guinier as his choice to head the Justice Department's civil rights division. And controversy erupted when Mfume recommended—then retreated from—a political alliance with black Muslim leader Louis Farrakhan. Still, with five members on the Ways and Means Committee, the black caucus is poised to play a pivotal role in the two big battles ahead—health care and welfare reform. ■

BY STEVEN V. ROBERTS

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Clinton's zero-risk nominee

In picking Stephen Breyer, he opts for a consensus builder

By Bill Clinton's own standards, the choice of federal Judge Stephen Breyer for the Supreme Court last week didn't quite measure up. Breyer, though a brilliant, respected jurist, lacks an important credential that the president said he was looking for: "real world" experience or a compelling life story that might add a fresh perspective to the high court.

But Breyer, 55, chief judge of the U.S. Court of Appeals in Boston, was a nearly risk-free choice. He is virtually guaranteed confirmation in the Senate, where he once served as chief counsel to the Senate Judiciary Committee under Sen. Edward Kennedy. And the mild-mannered Breyer is not likely to anger many large constituencies. "There's no downside to Breyer," says a senior Clinton adviser. "He is a safe, smart choice."

Breyer has carved out a moderate-liberal judicial record somewhat resembling that of Ruth Bader Ginsburg, Clinton's first nominee to the court. A preliminary report by the liberal Alliance for Justice concluded that his opinions "do not reveal any particular ideological slant and do not appear to be results-oriented."

No "knee jerk" type. Breyer's rulings in both criminal and civil rights cases cannot be neatly categorized. "He isn't a knee-jerk law-and-order type who always votes for the government, but neither is he a liberal who always votes for the little guy," says Martha Matthews, a former law clerk. Although Breyer has taken a scholarly, balanced approach on most legal questions, Matthews could envision his issuing controversial opinions like that of retiring Justice Harry Blackmun, who recently disavowed capital punishment. "Judge Breyer is a stubborn New Englander–he would do something surprising or controversial if that is where his analysis led him."

EVAN RICHMAN–REUTER

A safe choice. *Breyer is acceptable to diverse camps.*

The Boston judge has the potential to help build consensus on an increasingly fractious high court. Insiders say he demonstrated this quality most dramatically between 1985 and 1989 as a member of the U.S. Sentencing Commission, which wrote federal guidelines for criminal sentences. Breyer is credited with working with conservative Arizona law professor Michael Block and other panel members across the ideological spectrum to forge compromises that translated vague congressional directives into a detailed set of rules for the judiciary.

Some liberals were disappointed that Clinton did not tap a reliable vote for their cause. Abortion-rights leaders expressed concern about Breyer's murky record on that subject. And consumer advocate Ralph Nader assailed Breyer as "hostile to regulatory law enforcement." Nader charged that Clinton had "locked the court into an anticonsumer, antiworker, antienvironmental mode," and predicted that various labor unions and other liberal groups would oppose Breyer. But Kennedy's support will likely keep the left at bay. One additional possible flash point: Breyer's failure to fill out required forms and to pay withholding taxes for his household help–echoes of the "nannygate" problem. The White House says that Breyer has complied with the law.

Not No. 1. Breyer was never the president's first choice. In 1993, he was a runner-up when Clinton selected Ginsburg. And Clinton first hoped Senate Majority Leader George Mitchell would succeed Blackmun. The president also considered Interior Secretary Bruce Babbitt and Judge Richard Arnold of Arkansas but decided late Friday afternoon that the Breyer nomination posed fewer questions and less controversy in the Senate confirmation process. Babbitt faced opposition from Western Republicans for his liberal environmental stands. Arnold has been treated for lymphatic cancer, and White House advisers also worried he could be pictured as an Arkansas crony of Clinton. "The doubts about Babbitt and Arnold couldn't be resolved," says a Clinton aide, "and so he went with Breyer."

In making the choice, the president once again exhibited his tendency to procrastinate when making tough decisions. One problem is that, when Clinton is familiar with an issue, he tends to get obsessive about delving into every conceivable consequence or permutation of a decision rather than trust his instincts. As a former professor of constitutional law and Arkansas attorney general, Clinton felt he knew the issues involved in selecting a new justice better than anyone on his staff. "After every meeting [on the court vacancy], he always had more questions he wanted answered," says a senior aide. "He was always afraid he had missed something."

In the end, President Clinton settled for a top-notch judge, but he deferred his desire for boldness or innovation for another day. ■

BY KENNETH T. WALSH AND TED GEST
WITH MATTHEW COOPER

ON POLITICS

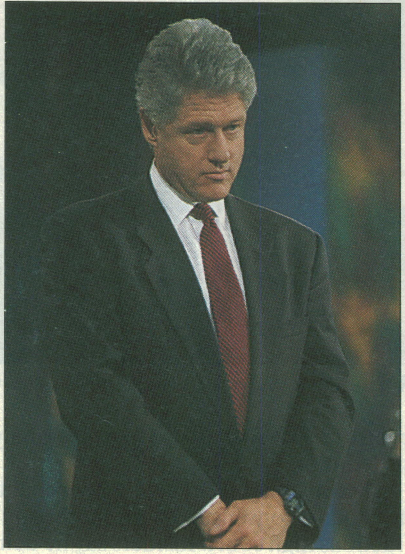
BY MICHAEL BARONE

Paying a price for his shortcomings

This has been a sickening season for those who have had bright hopes for the Clinton presidency. Before the Paula Jones lawsuit, it was widely believed that Bill Clinton wasn't suffering much from doubts about his character: Liberals smugly bragged that voters knew bad things about him and elected him anyway, while conservatives angrily complained that voters weren't punishing him enough. But both sides were wrong then and are more wrong now, because Clinton is paying a clear and measurable price for voters' concerns about his character. His job approval ratings are way below where they should be.

The previous three presidents, in times of perceived economic growth, had much higher job ratings: George Bush's Gallup approval hovered around 70 percent from spring 1989 to summer 1990; Ronald Reagan's was in the mid-60s from summer 1985 to fall 1986, and Jimmy Carter's was between the mid-60s and the low 70s in the first half of 1977. In contrast, from last December through February, when voters were responding to the strong fourth-quarter surge in the economy, Clinton averaged only 52 percent approval (and reached 60 percent only once) in 25 polls tallied by *American Enterprise* magazine. Since the spate of Whitewater stories in March, his approval has fallen, hovering below 50 percent. All of this suggests that Clinton was paying a 15-point penalty for his personal shortcomings before the Whitewater story took off; it has now grown to around 20 points and may go higher. Clinton defenders are quite right in saying that a 50 percent president can be re-elected. But no politician gives up 20 points happily. Clinton is a strong and spirited horse. Still, he is carrying an awful lot of weight around the track.

CHICK HARRITY–*USN&WR*



He's paying a 20-point penalty for questions about his character.

His problems are not helping him on his issues—most notably on health care finance reform. Public support for the Clinton plan is now stuck far below 50 percent, and it is a dead letter in Congress. The lead there is being taken by dedicated and talented Democrats who want a bigger role for government in health care—Edward Kennedy, Dan Rostenkowski, John Dingell and Pete Stark. But none has yet put together a majority in his full congressional committee, much less on the floor.

Health-reform blues. There is a growing possibility that Clinton's plan will crash and burn. Liberal leaders see this as perhaps their only opening in a quarter century to build a government-guaranteed health care system, and they may hold out so long for a maximalist plan as to leave no time to patch together a less ambitious approach that could easily win a majority. Clinton strategists have long argued that public demand for reform is so great that Democrats and even Republicans dare not go home to voters this fall without passing a major bill. But recent polls say just the opposite. Some 59 percent in an April *USA Today*/CNN/Gallup poll say they would rather see Congress change the health care system gradually. And a 58 to 34 percent margin in the May NBC/*Wall Street Journal* poll says Congress should act next year rather than this. In an era of distrust of government action, the evidence is strong that voters would prefer no action to the risks they see in a legislative redesign of one seventh of the economy.

The operative precedent for members of Congress, Clintonites have argued, should be the 1991 Pennsylvania Senate victory of Democrat Harris Wofford, who called for health care reform legislation about which his opponent was indifferent to hostile. But the operative precedent in the minds of many key Democrats on health-bill writing committees is the catastrophic health care act. It was passed overwhelmingly by Congress in 1988 but repealed in 1989 after angry protests that included a mob of elderly citizens surrounding Rostenkowski's car in downtown Chicago. For lawmakers, it would be worse to pass something bad—and many now think Clinton's is bad—than to pass nothing at all. Clinton originally hoped that public opinion and the force of his leadership could pass his health plan. Now, neither is working, and he is hoping that parliamentary legerdemain—a favorable rule in the House, draftsmanship behind doors in a conference committee—will result in the passage of something that can plausibly be described as similar to his proposal.

Clinton pollster Stan Greenberg is one of many liberals who hoped that Clinton could transform his 43 percent 1992 victory into success for a program of government benefits for the middle class and a solid Democratic majority in 1996 and after. He hasn't made much progress yet. A CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup poll in late March showed Clinton trailing "the Republican Party's candidate for president" by 50 to 43 percent. And Republicans stand to make gains—possibly big gains—in the 1994 off-year election. The assumption around Washington is that Bill Clinton will probably be re-elected in 1996. But Clinton, personally mistrusted and programmatically unfulfilled, may find himself in the uncomfortable position of a candidate whose re-election strategy has as one of its essential steps: "Your best hope—the other guy screws up." ■

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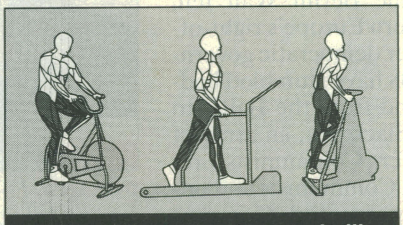

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Back to the future

Democratic regimes have stumbled, opening the door to a Communist political comeback

Alexander Kwasniewski is the very model of a modern Communist apparatchik. He wears Italian suits, speaks English, dines in the best restaurants, plays tennis with ambassadors and owns stock. At 39, he is also a likely candidate for president of Poland in 1995 and the wave of the future in Eastern Europe.

Less than five years after the Berlin Wall fell, Eastern Europe's right-of-center democratic governments have stumbled badly, and from the Baltic to the Black Sea, an array of former Communists, reform Communists and unreconstructed Communists are making a political comeback. Kwasniewski's Democratic Left Alliance in Poland followed another grouping of ex-Communists, Lithuania's Democratic Labor Party, into power eight months ago. Last month, ex-Communists scored well in Ukraine's inconclusive election. In Belarus, Bulgaria, Moldova, Romania, Serbia and Slovakia, neo-Communists are either back in power or have never surrendered it. Last week, retread Communists ran strongly in the first stage of Hungary's second free election since 1989; another round of voting May 29 could return them to office.

GAMMA / LIAISON

POLAND. *Former Communist Alexander Kwasniewski led his party into a coalition government and now is aiming for the presidency.*

Faced with the high price of transforming Communist societies into market democracies, many Eastern Europeans are growing nostalgic for a past that seems to be improving with age. While there are some signs of growth, notably in Poland and the Czech Republic, economic output across the region remains far below its pre-1989 level. Unemployment has shot up, as has inflation, while living standards have nose-dived. In Romania, real wages are now half of what they were five years ago.

Meantime the region's first post-Communist democratic governments have made one mistake after another. Instead of pursuing painful but necessary economic reforms, some have succumbed to the temptations of nationalism. Others have been blown off course by personality-based feuds or endless policy disputes. Most of the umbrella groupings that wrested power from the Communists have fragmented into warring factions that lack any cohesive purpose or mass support.

Still, few Eastern Europeans are ready to trade their new freedoms to return to the security of traditional communism's suffocating cocoon. Privatization has loosened the reins of state economic control. A plethora of new political parties has made pluralism a reality. Censorship has largely ended. Trade unions have begun to set their own agendas. Western investment is welcomed. Stock exchanges have sprung up, travel has been freed and foreign policy is no longer made in Moscow.

But the Communists have revamped their image, rethought their policies and renounced their past. They are presenting themselves as democrats, socialists and seasoned professionals, and all across shellshocked Eastern Europe, voters are in a mood to listen.

Eastern Europeans now face a choice: either the type of authoritarian paternalism that dominated the region between the First and Second World Wars or fully democratic societies that are open to change and tolerant of diversity. With Marxism-Leninism thoroughly discredited, neo-Communists are unlikely to try to re-create the past. But the problems of the present may prompt some countries to slow economic reforms, limit dissent and move closer to Russia.

HUNGARY

Budapest is haunted by ghosts. The Hungarian capital, which was crushed by Soviet tanks, still bears the scars of its 1956 uprising against Communist rule. Although Hungary is now a republic, its first post-Communist government has restored the old royal crest. Familiar faces from the Communist era remain active in public life, and political debate revolves around an imponderable: Have "they" really become democrats?

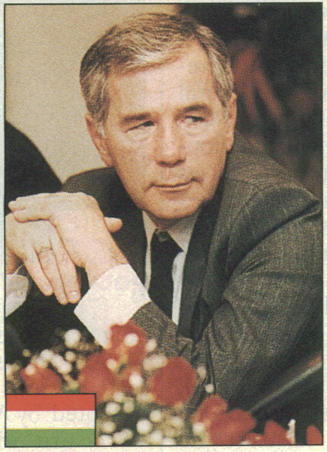
Last week, 8 million voters gave their opinion in the first half of a two-round general election, Hungary's second since the end of Communist rule in 1990. Then, "everyone voted against the system," says Nora Csiszer, a Budapest doctor. The result was a rout that put a center-right coalition in power. This time, Csiszer expects a victory for the ex-Communists now regrouped in the Socialist Party. "I'm sure I'll enjoy democracy eventually," she sighs, "but right now my circumstances don't allow it."

Naively or not, Hungarians thought

FILIP HORVAT – SABA

democracy would bring instant gratification. Instead, inflation soared and unemployment skyrocketed from almost nothing to about 12 percent today. Three million Hungarians, mainly the elderly and farmers, live below the poverty line. Most feel worse off. Csiszer, one of Hungary's leading mental health specialists, earns less than $300 a month. But privatization enabled others to get rich quickly. Today, the gap between rich and poor is 50 percent wider than it was in 1989.

MARIA DUDAR



HUNGARY. *Amid economic woes, voters backed Gyula Horn's Socialist Party.*

Only one group has clearly profited from the resulting social tensions – the revamped Socialist Party led by Gyula Horn, foreign minister in the last Communist regime. More than 30 percent of the electorate backed the Socialists last week – three times more than their nearest rival and four times the backing they had at the start of 1993.

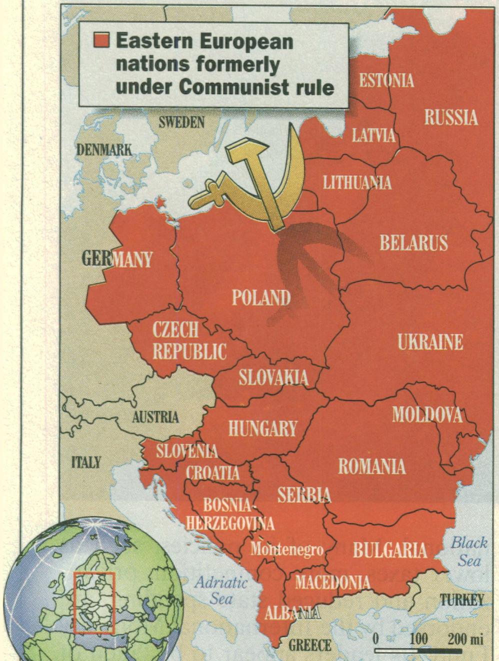
Hungary's complex electoral system makes it hard for a single party to form a government. But many people would be "relieved and happy" if a center-left coalition takes over, says Attila Agh, a political scientist at Budapest University of Economics. "The last four years were a period of lost opportunity," he says. "Voters are angered by that. They feel we have lost ground. We like democracy but not the ridiculous, backward-looking variety we got."

Ironically, the Socialists are now considered the party of the future. The party has one seal of good behavior in membership in the democratic Socialist International. Many of its policies, such as lower taxes, more competition, privatization and reduced state spending, are endorsed by the International Monetary Fund. Its leaders appear to be "men of ancient wealth and traditional decorum," to quote philosopher G. M. Tamas. Standard-bearer Horn, who helped Moscow suppress the 1956 uprising, now wants Hungary to join NATO and the European Union. "We are a party of experts," he says. "We have never been, and never will be, extremists."

Others are skeptical. "There is a nostalgia for the late 1980s based on an illusion," says Gabor Kuncze, leader of the liberal Free Democrats and the Socialists' likeliest ally. During the late-1980s, Horn and his top colleagues helped ease the transition to pluralism, but still there are doubts. "We don't know who they really are," says Kuncze acidly. "Their brain transplant is still in its infancy."

Horn's strongest ally is Hungary's incumbent government. Even by the low standards of post-Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the umbrella Democratic Forum movement has proved inept. Symbolism, not economic reform, has dictated its agenda, and it has wasted much of its energy on arcane arguments over "the nature of Hungary."

Unease at the forum's approach has been heightened by its appeals to nationalism. More than 100,000 Jews live in Hungary, as do thousands of gypsies, and both communities feel threatened by skinhead attacks. Erno Lazarovits of the Federation of Jewish Communities says the government has done little to counter the violent trend. "There's still no law here which makes antisemitism an offense although we have constantly urged the government to act," says Lazarovits.



At best the forum will regroup as a conservative opposition party. More likely, it will split. That could help Kuncze's Free Democrats or another centrist grouping, the Young Democrats. "At rallies I try to explain that we can't go back and that we can only get out of this situation by blood, sweat and tears," says Victor Orban, the feisty Young Democrat leader. "But it makes little impact. My message can't compete with, 'It was better in the old days.' "

Opinion surveys explain why. One, by Gallup, recently found that 71 percent of Hungarians think they are either worse off or no better off today than in the Communist era. Experts such as Zoltan Lakner, a sociologist at the Ministry of Welfare, say that in fact two thirds of Hungarians are no worse off than they were in 1989. But in Hungary, as elsewhere, perceptions are more important than statistics.

POLAND

The skyline of Starachowice is dominated by a rotting truck plant that once provided homes, sports stadia, kindergartens and holiday centers for its workers. Now, the factory's products are shunned, it desperately needs a foreign partner and its work force has shrunk to 2,800—less than one third the number five years ago.

Starachowice is a mirror of a nation having second thoughts about its painful transition to democracy. In the early 1980s, the town was a stronghold of the Solidarity trade union movement, but last September, voters elected a "reform" Communist to parliament.

"The mentality produced by communism can't be changed all that fast, anymore than you could change the capitalist mentality quickly," President Lech Walesa said in an interview with *U.S. News.*. "The problem now is that people are losing their nerve."

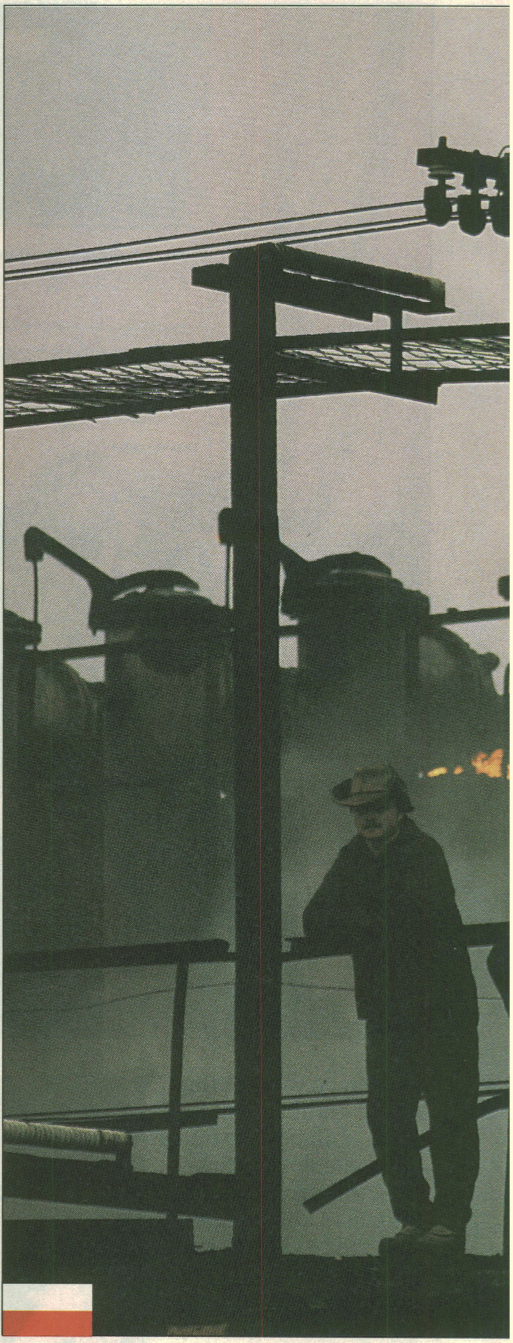
More people blame their problems on the 1989-93 Solidarity governments than on the Communists. Sixty percent oppose punishing former Communist officials for past misdeeds. A majority back privatization but not in their factory. Many fear history could repeat itself as apparatchiks reclaim their old desks.

Democracy has done nothing to curb the Poles' fondness for protesting. The vote last September that let former Communists into a coalition government "was a vote against the government and reforms rather than a vote for the ex-Communists," argues Bronislaw Geremek, a leading member of the liberal Democratic Union that lost power. Now, Solidarity is leading nationwide demonstrations against the austerity policies championed by the ex-Communists.

Solidarity, however, has collapsed as a unified political movement, and that has boosted the new left's credibility. A majority of Poles voted against the Democratic Left Alliance and its Peasant Party allies last year. But the vote was split between half a dozen small, right-of-center groups that dislike one another more than they mistrust the left. "We were overconfident that the left would never return," says Janusz Onyszkiewicz, a minister in the Solidarity governments. "The result was that the main political fight was between the post-Solidarity movements. It was very damaging."

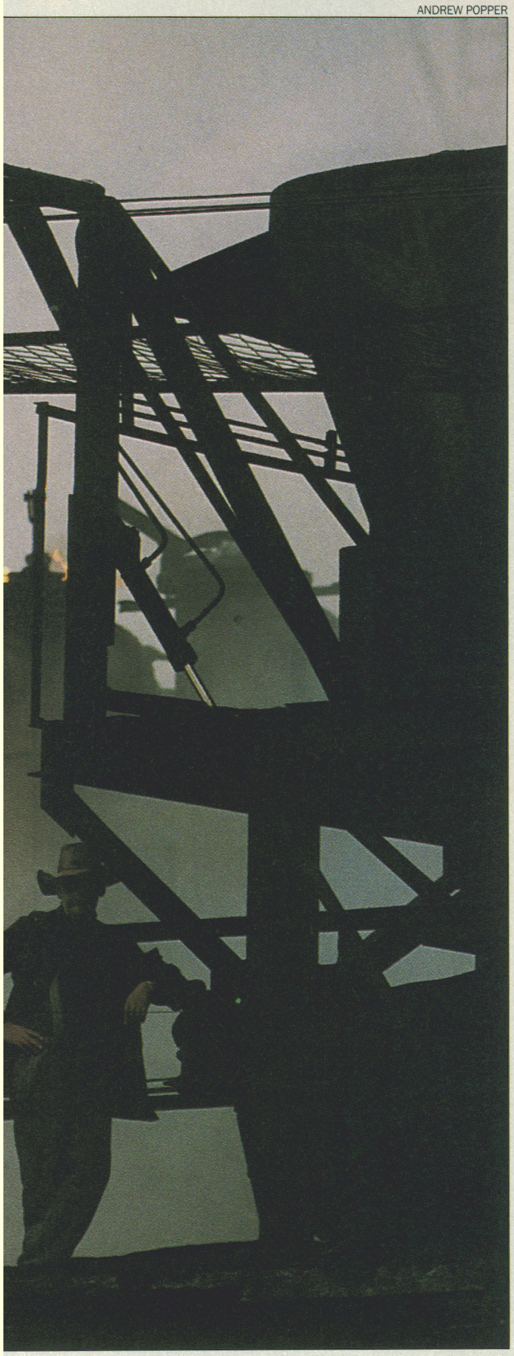
No one is certain, however, whether the reform Communists, who now call themselves social democrats, have really changed. Alexander Kwasniewski, the DLA's charismatic but individualistic leader, wants nothing more than to be accepted by Western social democrats. "We are identified with common sense," he says. "We are pragmatists." The DLA's cautious budget, privatization program and attempts to join NATO and the European Union all follow the centrist approach pioneered by Poland's Solidarity governments.

Other Poles see the new left not as a rebirth of totalitarianism but as an example of the old-boy network. To some it is also a sign of democracy in action. Yet



POLAND. *Industry has been hard hit by*

ANDREW POPPER



reform, prompting nostalgia for old ways.

many Poles remain suspicious of the DLA. As Geremek puts it: "The Polish Communist party believed in a monopoly of power. This aspect is still there in its successor party."

Even insiders agree that the DLA is deeply divided between a reform-minded elite and a rank and file that clings to the old faith. "Now that we're in power, the tension is much greater," admits DLA parliamentarian Jerzy Wiatr. "The grass roots wants us to be more and more socialist."

Others consider Kwasniewski and his fellow reform Communists "red capitalists," more interested in money and power than ideology. More than half the Polish economy has been privatized, but many of the country's nouveaux riches are onetime Communist functionaries.

"They're not going to reinstate a Communist system," predicts President Walesa. "They will continue to make lots of money and to be our biggest capitalists."

LITHUANIA

Lithuania's president, Algirdas Brazauskas, who once led his country's Communist Party, now fumes over the idea that the comrades have returned to power. "Nobody in Lithuania would ever vote for Communists," he thundered in a recent interview. "Zero percent would want a Communist president. You have to forget biographies. You have to have professionals."

When Brazauskas handily won the presidential election in February 1993, life under communism was very much on voters' minds. Since regaining its independence in 1991, Lithuania had suffered a dire energy crisis, industrial collapse and staggering inflation. The conservative government led by Vytautas Landsbergis had tense relations with Moscow and with the apparatchiks who still controlled the countryside. When nationalists called for rapid-fire dismantlement of Lithuania's collective farms, they were roundly criticized as rank amateurs. "No one can say that we weren't inexperienced," admits a former government official. "But we were the ones unlucky enough to be in power during economic bad times."

RICHARD ELLIS – JB PICTURES FOR *USN&WR*

LITHUANIA. *Ex-Communist Brazauskas again rules.*

The bad times have yet to end. At a city dump near Vilnius, farmers comb through the garbage looking for bread to feed their pigs. Workers on reduced schedules search for bits of metal to sell. At the Vilnius State Plant for Grinding Machines, a long line of boxes containing unsold industrial wares runs the length of the factory wall. Once these machines had pride of place in the Soviet pavilion at Montreal's Expo '66. Now, even Russia isn't buying.

Connections are what kept the old Communist system moving, and they are still the ties that bind in the new Lithuania. An official's ability to pick up a telephone and get action often counts for more than a parliamentarian's vote. President Brazauskas says such skills were key when negotiating the removal of 22,000 Russian troops from Lithuanian soil. "The talks had reached a deadlock," he recalls. "We had to use another method, the method of personal contacts—conversations with different leaders, saying, 'Look. What's in the way? Tell your people what to do.' "

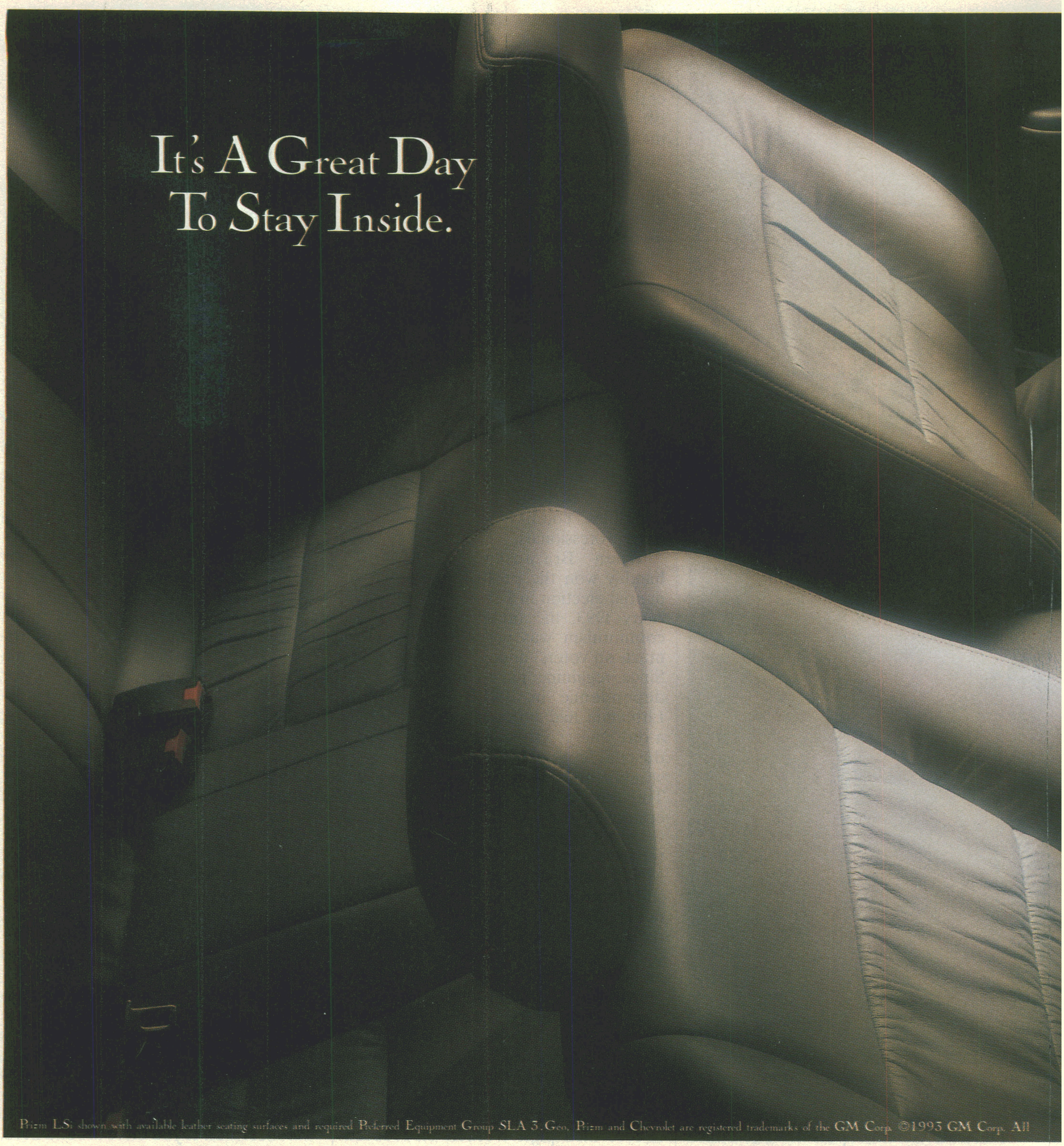
Brazauskas's bluff style has won him a popular following. Though he was lukewarm about the cause of Lithuanian independence, warning in 1991 against a sudden break from Moscow, he was admired for leading the Lithuanian Communists when they split with the pan-Soviet Communist Party in 1989.

With Brazauskas's Democratic Labor Party the majority in government, the de-collectivization drive has been replaced by a scheme designed to break large state farms into middle-sized, privatized units. Lithuania is now able to pay for its energy, partly by using foreign credits. "The people are happy," says Arunas Degutis, a former leader of the independence movement who is now a businessman. "People are afraid to think about the future when they will have to pay. They voted for communism because the Communists managed them, somehow, before. And they want to continue to be managed. They are afraid to be independent."

Twenty-five percent of all Lithuanians work in agriculture, and in the countryside outside Vilnius, Brazauskas is considered the farmers' protector. "I don't care if he is a Communist," says Arunas Kirnulas, a collective farm worker who is selling clothes in a parking lot. "He is serious. If you drive around here, everybody is for Brazauskas."

A short way down the road, Antonia and Magdalena Kabailiene represent the minority dissent. Sitting under a portrait of their brother, killed as an anti-Communist partisan, the sisters mourn the election of Brazauskas through a torrent of tears. "He is a true Communist," says Magdalena, 63. "He says one thing and does another." ■

By Robin Knight in Poland and Hungary
and Victoria Pope in Lithuania



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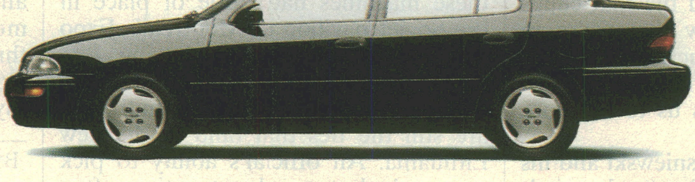

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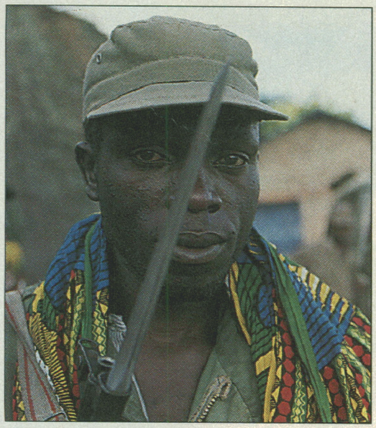
Why is Rwanda killing itself?

The slaughter has unleashed a tide of refugees and raised fears that the fighting will spread

"Is anyone here still alive?" the young men shouted as they entered the Ecole Officielle Technique in the Rwandan capital of Kigali. Like many survivors of the grenade and machine-gun attack on the school where some 3,000 people had sought refuge, Simon-Pierre Hitiyise raised his hand. "We've come to help you," said the men, dressed in long, blood-spattered coats and wearing bandannas that covered their faces. Hitiyise and the other male survivors were then separated from the women and told to lie face down on the ground. In the moment before the 23-year-old mechanic's skull was hacked open, his back and hands slashed and his right ear cut off, one of the attackers told Hitiyise: "You have to die because you are a Tutsi."



Rebel. *An RPF fighter*

For the next two days, Hitiyise lay motionless among a pile of corpses that included his father, mother and three siblings. When soldiers of the Tutsi-dominated rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF) finally arrived, they found only 30 people still alive. Hitiyise was taken away to begin a 12-day, 45-mile journey to a makeshift hospital in rebel-held Byumba, north of Kigali.

The killing that has transformed the tiny nation of Rwanda into Central Africa's slaughterhouse is the worst of the post-cold-war era. In the last six weeks as many as 250,000 people have died in a campaign of genocide and retribution that rivals the Khmer Rouge's bloody purge of Cambodia in the mid-1970s. Last week the United States delayed a United Nations Security Council vote to authorize 5,500 peacekeepers for Rwanda. Even if a resolution is adopted, it would leave undecided which countries would provide the soldiers, where money would be found to pay for their operations, when they would go and where they would be deployed.

By contrast, the international community has acted swiftly to avert one of the worst refugee crises since World War II. Along neighboring Tanzania's northwestern border, some 200,000 Rwandans who filed into the country during a 24-hour period late last month are being fed, sheltered and inoculated by relief agencies ranging from the Red Cross Federation to Médecins sans Frontières. Aid officials on the border say that although the situation has stabilized, problems of sanitation and disease will only escalate unless something is done to stop the slaughter.

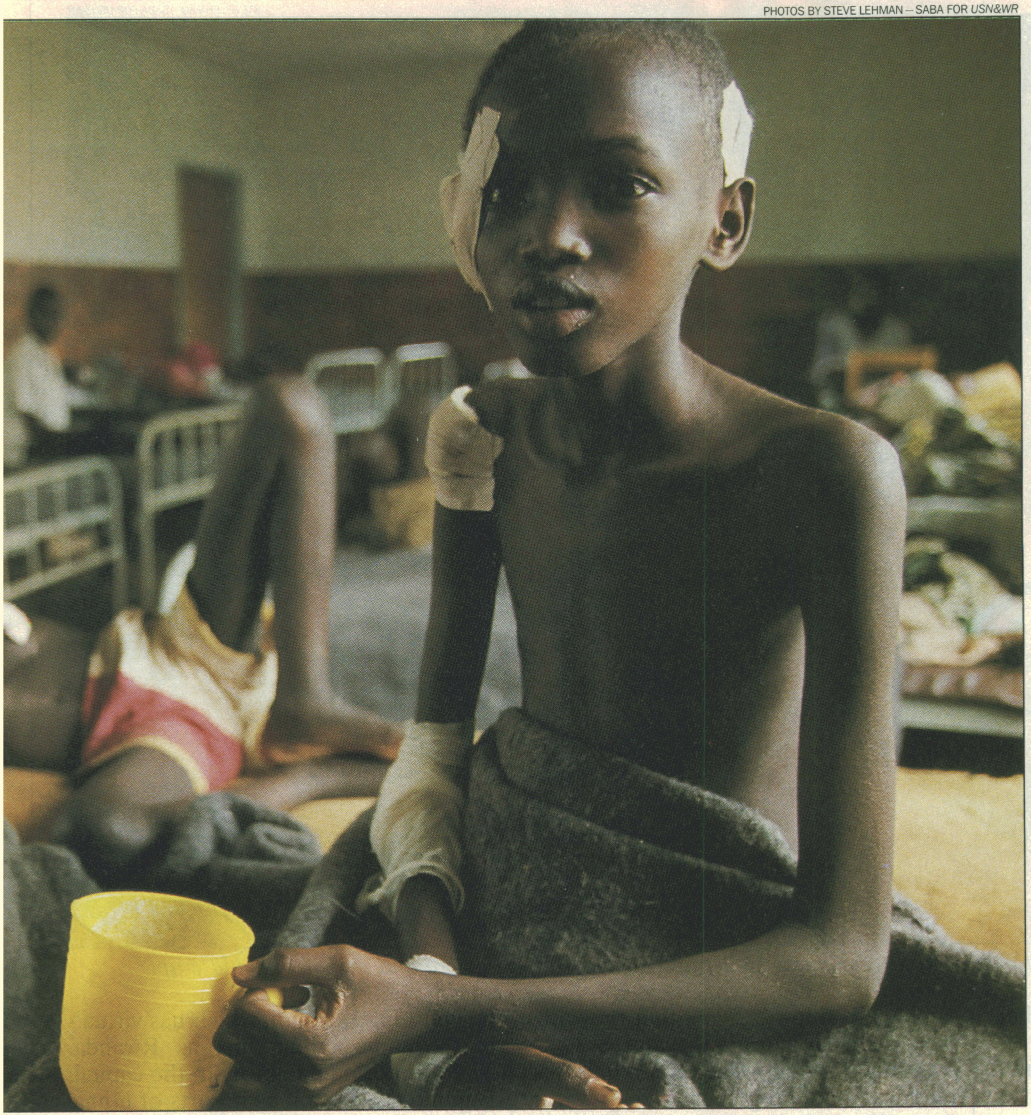
That job now falls to the U.N., whose record in Rwanda so far offers little cause for hope. A 2,500-strong peacekeeping force known as UNAMIR (U.N. Assistance Mission to Rwanda) was deployed last November to supervise the implementation of the Arusha Accord, an agreement reached in August to end Rwanda's three-year civil war between the Hutu-dominated government and Tutsi-backed RPF rebels. The accord called for the opposing military to be disarmed and demobilized, or integrated into a smaller national force, and for a multiparty transitional government to be established.

Ghahini Hospital, Rwanda. *There is mounting*

Standing by. Yet even before the plane carrying Rwandan President Juvénal Habyarimana and Burundi's Cyprien Ntaryamira was shot down outside Kigali on April 6, the peace plan had gone awry. The transitional government that was to unite the country's political factions was still not formed, and the demobilization process had yet to begin. Without a mandate to act against violations, UNAMIR did nothing to stop the ongoing training of the 2,000-strong presidential guard and the *interahamawe* militias that have been implicated in the worst atrocities.

Even if an international force eventually is sent, it may not be able to stop a country that seems intent on killing itself. RPF officials have so far rejected calls for a U.N. peacekeeping force. The rebels now control all but one major road into the capital, where rebel and government troops are engaged in daily artillery duels, and therefore are betting they will win the conflict outright. And like the Serbs in the former Yugoslavia, the current Rwandan government, which is controlled by Hutu extremists, has already

PHOTOS BY STEVE LEHMAN—SABA FOR *USN&WR*



evidence that the bloodshed was triggered by a systematic plan to destroy a nascent democracy.

demonstrated that it controls its followers only when it suits its ends. In early May, despite government assurances of safe conduct, a UNAMIR-escorted convoy taking 300 civilians to the airport in Kigali for evacuation was turned back by Rwandan military and militias, who badly wounded two passengers.

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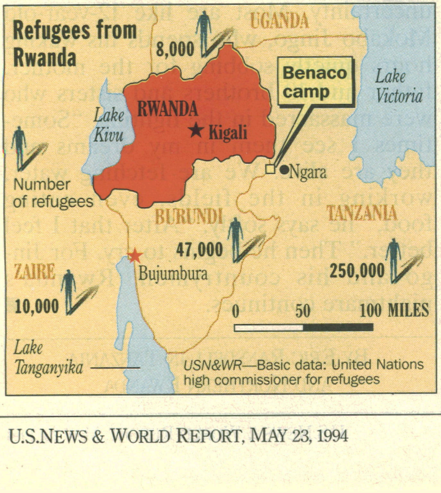


USN&WR—Basic data: United Nations high commissioner for refugees

"There is no way you can keep peace in a place like that," says a brigadier general of the Tanzanian Army, which has been mentioned as a likely component of any peacekeeping operation. According to the general, who asked not to be identified, the only way to solve the Rwandan crisis is through a "total military solution" similar to Vietnam's 1979 invasion of Cambodia or Tanzania's 1985 incursion into Uganda, which toppled the murderous regime of Milton Obote. "What you need is a force big enough to go in and clean up the place, get everybody settled, organize elections and build up a new national army," the officer insists.

"Zero Network." Initially portrayed as an ethnic war between the Hutu people—who account for 85 percent of the population—and the minority Tutsi, there is mounting evidence that the bloodshed was the result of a systematic plan to destroy Rwanda's nascent democracy. Last September the Rwandan newspaper *Umurava* reported the existence of a so-called Zero Network, run by Hutu extremists close to Habyarimana and organized by members of the military and police forces.

Many analysts believe it was members of this Zero Network, most of whom were northern Hutus, who killed Habyarimana to prevent implementation of the Arusha Accord. Violent demonstrations, assassinations and death threats in the first few months of this year were all attributed to the *interahamawe*. Yet it was the systematic precision of the killings of most major Hutu opposition figures and civilian Tutsi leaders within the first 24 hours after the presidents' fatal plane crash that convinced many that rumors of hit lists and death squads circulating in Kigali were true.

Hutu and Tutsi opposition figures who fled the fighting and now reside at Byumba with the RPF rebels describe a government growing dangerously paranoid as multiparty democracy allowed more opponents to speak out against the ruling clique. "All they wanted was power," says Joseph Ngengimana, the sole surviving leader of the Liberal Party. "They feared that if another government came in where they were not the key rulers, they would be asked by the law to account for the atrocities they had committed."

At stake was not only the stranglehold by northern Hutus on political power but also the wealth and privilege Habyarimana's clique had accrued during 21 years of military rule. Perks for the elite ranged from free cars and houses to customs and wildlife officials turning a blind eye to gorilla poaching in the country's eastern mountain reserves. In fact, Protias Zigiranyirazo, the late president's brother-in-law and reportedly one of the main financial backers of the Zero Network, has been widely linked to the 1985 murder of American primate researcher Dian Fossey, who threatened to expose his involvement in the illicit international gorilla trade.

The results of the blood lust are everywhere. Throughout Rwanda, fetid piles of hacked and decapitated corpses, many with their hands tied behind their backs, litter the countryside. Inside RPF-controlled territory, three little girls recently arrived at an or-

STEVE LEHMAN—SABA FOR *USN&WR*

Refugees. *Aid workers distribute grain at a camp in Tanzania. Relief officials warn that cholera and dysentery could erupt.*

phanage after being buried up to their necks and left for dead.

In the hilltop town of Byumba, where the electricity is cut off after RPF rebels routed a government force of 5,000 in the town, nurses work by lamp- and candlelight as they attend to hundreds of wounded. In the darkened corners of the classrooms, only the white bandages are visible, many in the half-moon shape of head wounds. In one ward, a 12-year-old orphan screams when she is told that the only way of stopping the gangrene is to amputate both of her legs.

In Tanzania, a Tutsi refugee recently told aid officials how his brother and sister-in-law had paid Hutu militiamen $1,500 for the bullets used to execute themselves and their children because they didn't want to be hacked to death. A continuous stream of refugees moves up and down the hill to a shrinking water hole that serves 200,000. From one section of the muddy bank women wade out to wash clothes while their children stand and urinate nearby. Standing knee-deep in a long line, dozens of refugees hold jerrycans and plastic bottles under the brown water, waiting for the bubbles to stop—a signal that they now have their day's drinking water.

At night in the rolling green hillsides, families huddle together to keep warm. According to Lasse Norgaard of the Red Cross Federation, at least five to 10 people, mainly children, are dying every day from pneumonia and other diseases. Cholera and dysentery epidemics could also break out unless the sanitation situation improves dramatically. But the biggest fear among aid officials is that the war will continue, the world will forget and the sprawling unhygienic camp will become a permanent home for almost a quarter of a million Rwandans.

Battling ignorance. The most likely end to the conflict is an RPF victory. At their headquarters on an old tea plantation in northern Rwanda, RPF officials say that even if they win the war, it will take years to calm the ethnic tensions that erupted when government radio began urging people to "Kill the Tutsis." Says Lt. Firmin Gatero, as he looks out over the tea-covered hillsides that have gone unpicked since the RPF invaded in 1990: "Our enemy is ignorance."

The fighting might also spread to neighboring Burundi, which has virtually the same ethnic mix as Rwanda. There is periodic fighting in the capital, Bujumbura, as well as reports of ethnic clashes in the countryside between its Hutu majority and the Tutsi-dominated military. After last year's assassination of President Melchior Ndadaye, more than 175,000 Burundians fled into Tanzania and Rwanda to escape a wave of ethnic killing that left as many as 100,000 dead.

For the majority of Rwanda's 8.4 million people, the future promises only more deprivation, bloodshed and uncertainty. Most are like 12-year-old Mokabo Jingo, who spends his waking hours quietly sobbing for the mother, father and 10 brothers and sisters who were massacred in the fighting. "Sometimes I see them in my dreams and they are alive. We are fetching water, working in the fields, even eating food," he says softly. "After that I feel better." Then he begins to cry. For Jingo and his countrymen, Rwanda's nightmare continues. ■

BY ERIC RANSDELL IN TANZANIA
AND NORTHERN RWANDA

ON INDIA

BY EMILY MACFARQUHAR

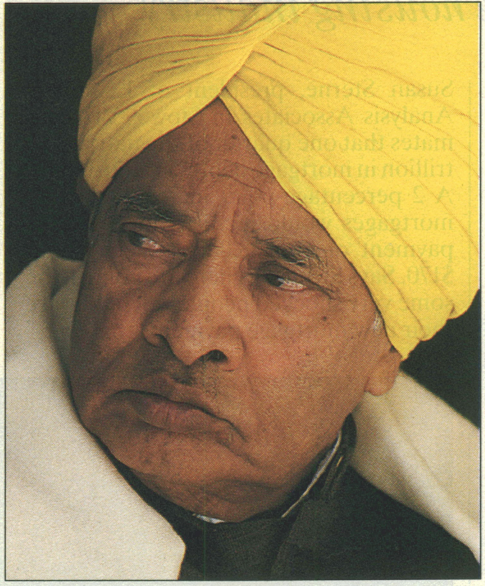
America and the un-China

"India is half as important as China and gets one tenth the attention." This reckoning, by a high administration official, is at least half right. India, despite its much touted status as the world's biggest democracy, has been off the screens of successive governments in Washington, partly because it was seen as too close to the Russians, partly because it wasn't causing enough trouble. Recently it joined the lengthening list of diplomatic disaster areas in Asia because some minor American gaffes were blown wildly out of proportion in Delhi. This week's visit to the United States by India's 72-year-old prime minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, is mainly for soothing India's injured pride. But it is also a chance to correct astigmatisms on both sides: for India to stop viewing the United States through conspiratorial spectacles and for Washington to take off the blinders that have stopped it from seeing India for the like-minded giant it is.

No, India is not China—and a good thing, too. Defining it as the un-China usually spells a put-down for India: not as weighty, not as strategically important, not as economically enticing. In fact, India is catching up with China in both bad ways and good. It is still the world's second most populous country, though at present growth rates it will be bigger than China within a few decades. India's presumed nuclear weapons capability and the dangers of a clash with Pakistan are both great enough to make nuclear talks on the subcontinent a high priority for the United States. Economically, China left India in the dust after Deng Xiaoping started his economic reforms in the late 1970s. But, under Rao, India has now joined the liberalizing club and become a hot emerging market. Last year, India attracted more foreign investment than in the previous four decades, most of it from the United States.

Fair trade friends. The sea change in India's economy and the new opportunities it offers American companies and portfolio investors are the theme of the happiest talk that President Clinton and Rao will have this week. Americans are frustrated that India isn't moving faster to cut tariffs and bureaucratic hurdles; Indians fiercely oppose U.S. proposals to legislate against child labor and to introduce minimum labor standards into world trade agreements. But both countries see their growing economic ties—the United States is India's biggest investor and trading partner—as the strongest foundation for a new relationship. Another way India is becoming like China is in the recent formation of the India Interest Group, a lobby of American investors—spearheaded by General Electric and including such heavy hitters as AT&T, Coca-Cola, Ford and IBM—to fight for India in Washington, just as China traders have been fighting to stop the revocation of most-favored-nation status.

PABLO BARTHOLOMEW—GAMMA / LIAISON



Injured pride. *Indian Prime Minister Rao*

This week's visit is a chance to correct astigmatisms on both sides.

Human rights is a point of friction with India as well, though since no sanctions are involved it has not approached a Chinese level of acrimony. Indians nonetheless bitterly resent America's public criticisms of the behavior of Indian forces in insurgency-torn Kashmir; they have responded by setting up a Human Rights Commission and allowing the Red Cross into Kashmir, but otherwise have carried on cracking heads. The administration is likely to assure Rao that future human-rights interventions will be quietly diplomatic. This retreat will be less politically costly than the expected Clinton turnabout on China's MFN, since India's abuses have aroused much less public and congressional indignation.

In the most sensitive conversations, Clinton will try to sell Rao on the idea of a nine-power conference on nuclear restraints in South Asia. At a secret meeting with American officials in London three weeks ago, India backed away from the conference formula. One way of making it acceptable to India would be to transform it into a forum for endorsing the proposed global ban on fissionable-materials production, with all participants, including the five nuclear powers, signing on. Then, the way would be cleared for more talks on further nuclear caps, including a ban on missile testing and deployment. A missile ban is the most urgent regional issue, since India is reportedly ready to deploy its homemade Prithvi missile, capable of hitting all the major cities of Pakistan. If Clinton can extract a private assurance from Rao that the Prithvi will not be deployed anytime soon, this alone would make the summit a success.

It used to be said of America and Britain that they were separated by a common language. The same is true of India, where, as in Britain, the common language is underpinned by common democratic values. India's democratic credentials have actually acted against it in the United States; unlike China, it was never a prize to be lost or won, and tends to be taken for granted. There is now a longer than ever list of reasons why democratic, nuclear-capable, investor-ready India belongs at our top table. High on the list: For all its preachy prickliness, it is not China. ■

Chopping the economy down

The Federal Reserve's interest rate hikes are starting to undercut the housing industry

Jeri Templin wasn't looking for a windfall. When she phoned a mortgage company in early February, she asked if there was a way to reduce the payments on her three-bedroom home in suburban Dallas. Facing eventual retirement from her job as a surgical assistant, the divorced Templin, 60, figured any savings would help pay the bills after she quit working. A loan officer ran the numbers, and Templin found she could save $77 a month by bringing her 9⅞ percent rate down to 7½ percent.

Unfortunately, she will probably never see that money. Three successive increases in short-term interest rates by the Federal Reserve have helped push 30-year fixed-rate mortgages from about 7 percent to nearly 9 percent. Templin didn't lock in her rate after the first Fed move in February; so now she will save just $14 a month. And if the central bank raises interest rates this week, even the $14 will disappear. "I'm pretty ticked," says Templin. "I figured that money might help pay for my food after I retire."

Templin isn't the only one who is feeling peeved. Rising interest rates are preventing hundreds of thousands of homeowners from refinancing their mortgages today. Over the past two years, consumers have put $30 billion in their pockets by lowering monthly payments on their houses. Those savings have had a huge ripple effect, allowing Americans to buy cars, appliances and furniture while reducing other debt loads built up during the 1980s. The Fed's higher interest rates could ultimately cost homeowners $13.5 billion over the next two years, according to David Lereah, chief economist for the Mortgage Bankers Association of America.

Much of that loss will come from rising rates on adjustable mortgages, which go up or down depending on the market. Susan Sterne, president of Economic Analysis Associates in Stowe, Vt., estimates that one quarter of the nation's $3 trillion in mortgage debt is in adjustables. A 2 percentage-point increase in these mortgages would increase the monthly payment on a $128,000 loan by about $170. Says Sterne: "There are going to be some very shocked people when they see their new mortgage payments this year."

And higher mortgage rates will also have a chilling effect on home construction, which has accounted for fully 20 percent of economic growth since the recession. The National Association of Home Builders predicts that rising rates will result in 166,000 fewer homes being built in 1994 and 1995. That translates into nearly 350,000 lost construction jobs.

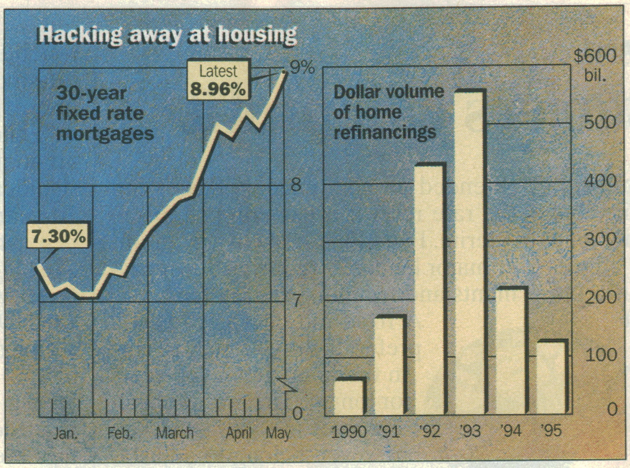
Losing business. The recent surge in interest rates also has mortgage lenders running for cover. Last year's historically low rates drove mortgage volume to a record $1 trillion, largely because of refinancings, which totaled $554 billion, or 55 percent of all mortgage activity. That volume has plummeted since the Fed's first rate strike in February, and analysts now forecast that mortgage activity will shrink to $683 billion by 1995; only 18 percent, or $123 billion, of total volume is expected to be refinancings.

The end of the "refi" boom is forcing many lenders to change their strategy. Refinancings accounted for 78 percent of last year's $52.5 billion mortgage volume at California-based Countrywide Credit Industries. Today, the nation's largest mortgage lender is planning to open about 120 branches around the country in an effort to gain a greater

ILLUSTRATION BY GREG RAGLAND FOR *USN&WR*

share of home purchase loans. That expansion will be expensive, says Jonathan Gray, an analyst at Sanford C. Bernstein & Co.—especially in an industry that has 50 percent excess capacity. With too many mortgage lenders chasing too few loans, a price war is bound to break out. And these marketplace hostilities could lead to a serious earnings erosion and a major consolidation in the mortgage lending industry.

Interest-rate volatility could also make adjustable mortgages more popular. Risk-averse lenders such as banks and thrifts like adjustables because their floating rates provide a hedge against interest-rate exposure. As a result, say analysts, these financial institutions may soon play a bigger role in the home mortgage market. "If we were only dealing with mortgage bankers, the price war this year would be swift and decisive, like Desert Storm," says Gray. "But with all these other players—the banks and the thrifts—we're going to have something like World War II, a bloody war that drags on for years."



Note: Mortgage figures are for week's end. Refinancing figures for 1994 and 1995 are estimates.
USN&WR—Basic data: Mortgage Bankers Association of America, HSH Associates

Mortgage lenders have already laid off legions of employees. Countrywide, for example, has shrunk its loan production staff by 18 percent—or about 500 jobs—since last December. And the home loan unit of Prudential Insurance is slicing 675 people from its payroll. In all, some 30,000 of the 200,000 employees in the mortgage lending industry are expected to lose their jobs over the next two years. Jim Shaughnessy, a 49-year-old mortgage bank branch manager whose office in suburban Dallas Mid America Mortgage closed last month, is already pounding the pavement. Shaughnessy says even the most optimistic lenders saw the end of the line on April 18, when the Fed raised short-term rates for the third time this year. "That," explains Shaughnessy, "was the day when loan officers pulled the gun from the bottom drawer of their desks, put it in their mouths and pulled the trigger."

Blown away. Many mortgage lenders have also been blown away by the loss of lucrative servicing fees for processing monthly loan payments. The recent refi boom enabled mortgage companies to regularly steal servicing rights from one another. Whenever a loan was refinanced, it was paid off early, and the servicing fees would migrate to the originator of the new loan. This movement, known as runoff, devastated some lenders' earnings, even though they originated record loan amounts. Arizona-based Express America Mortgage Corp., for example, increased its loan originations from $702 million to $5 billion between 1992 and 1993, but one third of its servicing portfolio was refied away to new lenders. That runoff was partially responsible for the company's $2 million net loss last year. And now, with the jump in interest rates, Express America must turn and face a contracting mortgage market. "Originations are expected to be significantly down in 1994," says Express America CEO Robert Stallings, "but we think we'll still do pretty well because the runoff situation will have stabilized."

The collapse of the refi market will create even more competition, and that should lower borrowing costs for a number of homeowners. Several lenders have already reduced down-payment requirements and closing fees, for instance. But this is small change compared with the larger mortgage payments that many consumers will now be forced to pay each month. Higher interest rates have clearly begun to hack away at the housing market; the real question is whether they will ultimately undercut America's economic expansion. ■

BY DAN MCGRAW

PLAYING THE MORTGAGE GAME

Patient consumers can profit

Seven percent mortgages probably won't reappear for a while, but house hunters rushing to buy and homeowners stuck with rising adjustable rate mortgages might wait a bit. Most economists agree that 30-year rates will remain high over the next several months, but they are likely to ease back down by year-end. Even people whose adjustables can now be converted to fixed loans should be patient. Convert now, and you'll wind up paying more than 9 percent.

Lenders are vying for the business of those who must commit now. The nation's largest residential lender, Countrywide Funding Corp., will lock in a guaranteed rate for 30 days, before you even find a house. Once a sales agreement is signed, the lock is extended an additional 45 days—and the rate reset if it has dropped in the interim. Fleet Financial Group, another major lender, is reducing down payments and trimming closing fees.

A fixed-rate mortgage is still preferable if you plan to stay in the home for seven years or longer. The most appealing rates in today's market, however, belong to adjustables. While the average national rate on a one-year ARM is now 5.5 percent, more than 20 lenders nationwide are quoting one-year ARMs at 3.75 percent or less, including Philadelphia's Continental Bank and San Francisco's Great Western Bank. Others, such as First of America Bank in Detroit and Barnett Bank in Miami, are offering the loans at 4 percent to 4.5 percent. Most of these adjustable loans come with maximum rate increases of 2 percentage points per year and lifetime limits of 6 points.

While the cost of an ARM may go up annually, short-run savings can be significant. Say you've got a $100,000, 30-year fixed-rate mortgage at 8.5 percent, on which you are paying $768.91 a month in principal and interest. A 4.5 percent ARM would cost $506.69 a month for the first year, slicing about $4,000 off the yearly cost of the fixed-rate mortgage. The following year, at 6.5 percent, the savings add up to $1,680. Cumulative savings even as late as the fifth year add up to nearly $2,300. "Get a cheap, one-year ARM and you'll save a bundle for the next three or four years, but don't overstay your welcome," says Keith Gumbinger, an analyst with HSH Associates, a Butler, N.J., mortgage data company. "In the sixth year, the savings dry up." Just like those 7 percent mortgages.

BY KERRY HANNON

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Small Company's New Golf Ball Flies Too Far; Could Obsolete Many Golf Courses

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Want To Shoot An Eagle or Two ?

By Mike Hensen

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Despite this extraordinary performance the company has a problem. A spokesman put it this way: "In golf you need endorsements and TV publicity. This is what gets you in the pro shops and stores where 95% of all golf products are sold. Unless the pros use your ball on TV, you're virtually locked out of these outlets. TV advertising is too expensive to buy on your own, at least for us.

"Now, you've seen how far this ball can fly. Can you imagine a pro using it on TV and eagle-ing par-fours? He would turn the course into a par-three, and real men don't play par-three's. This new fly-power forces us to sell it without relying on pros or pro-shops. One way is to sell it direct from our plant. That way we can keep the name printed on the ball a secret that only a buyer would know. There's more to golf than tournaments, you know."

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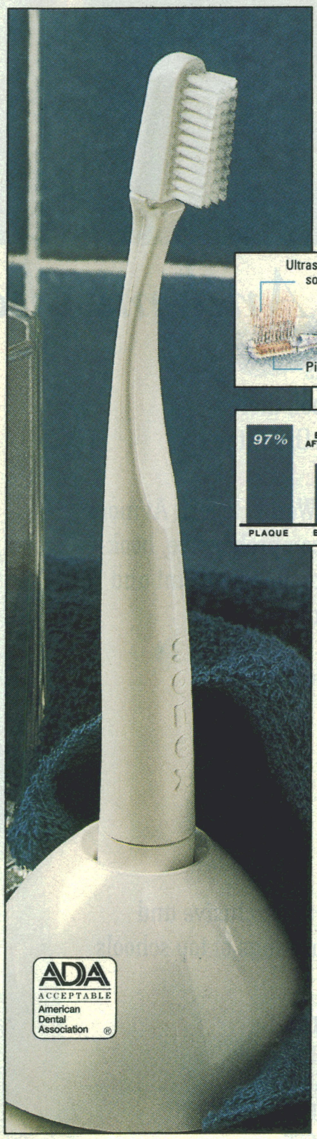
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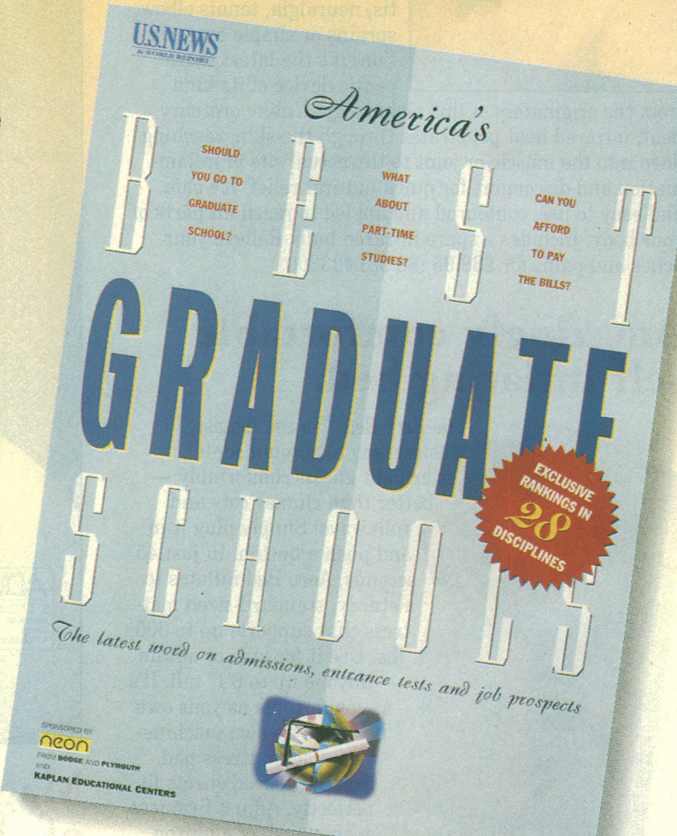
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U.S.NEWS & WORLD REPORT

Inflation gets nailed

America's slow wage growth has hammered away at prices

The clerk at Banana Republic was looking sheepish. A price tag on the denim jacket said $58. But actually, he said, the jacket sells for $48. A labeling error? A sudden sale? No. "The company just decided to retag this jacket," the salesman conceded. "At the higher price point, it wasn't selling."

Another retailer had just discovered economics for the 1990s: You can't raise prices if shoppers can't afford the goods. Last week, three government reports on inflation and retailing provided fresh evidence. Consumer prices edged up just 0.1 percent in April, bringing the inflation rate to 2.3 percent so far this year, compared with 2.7 percent in 1993. Prices at the producer stage actually dropped 0.1 percent and are lower today than a year ago. And retail sales fell a surprising 0.8 percent, with weakness across the board from autos to appliances to apparel.

The numbers came as a shock to inflation-wary Wall Street, but they were no surprise to Joel Popkin, a Washington, D.C., economist and inflation specialist. Popkin says the economy has changed radically since the 1970s and early 1980s, when wages chased prices in a self-sustaining upward spiral. Today, according to Popkin, wages are a brake on growth rather than an accelerator. Here's why. In the past, most workers received automatic cost-of-living raises that increased their pay in tandem with prices. Now, however, scarcely 25 percent of union workers have COLA escalators, down from 60 percent a decade ago. And pay in the nonunion sector is generally tied to performance, not prices. The result: Average wages rose just 2.5 percent in 1992 and only 2.4 percent in 1993 – losing ground to inflation in both years. And when prices get too far ahead of wages, says Popkin, "spending slows down, the economy slows down."

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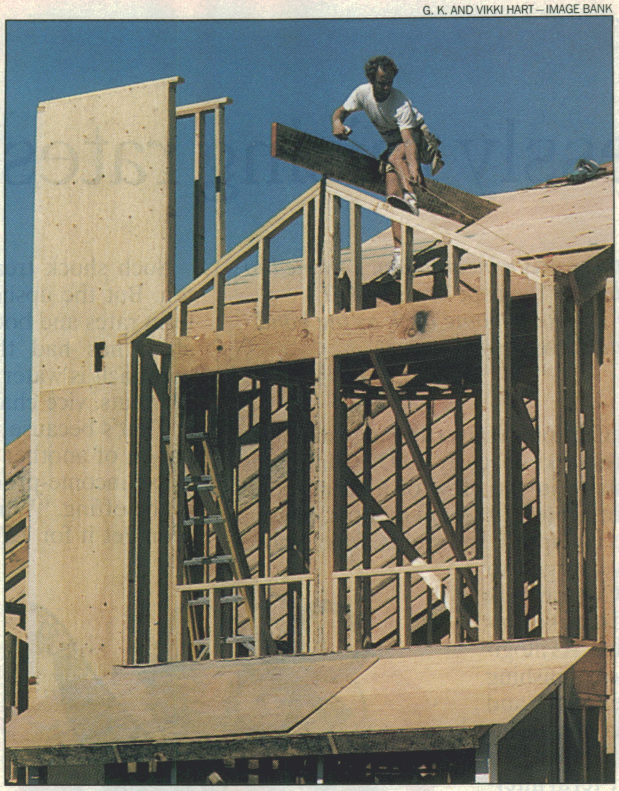

Slippery slope. *Construction workers' pay growth is weak.*

Recent history shows this self-correcting mechanism at work. In late 1992 the economy posted a surprising growth spurt, causing prices to accelerate in early 1993. But wages didn't keep pace. Consumer spending and economic growth decelerated sharply as a consequence, bringing the inflation rate back below 3 percent by mid-1993. Writing last November, Popkin predicted that the economy would surge ahead again in the final quarter of 1993, because low inflation had given another boost to effective purchasing power, but that the same slowdown would repeat itself early in 1994. He was right on both counts.

Shrinking pay. Do consumers really measure their paychecks against the consumer price index and then recalibrate their spending plans every month? Popkin, and most economists, wouldn't press the case that far. But consumers clearly fret that their paychecks don't buy what they once did, and workers simply have little power to extract higher wages. And without a push from wages, inflation cannot sustain itself. Economists at the WEFA Group, a forecasting firm in Bala-Cynwyd, Pa., put that thesis to the test last year when they built a new inflation forecast around recent wage behavior. They predicted that the inflation rate would finish 1993 between 2.7 percent and 2.9 percent. Says WEFA's Daniel Bachman: "You're not going to see sustained price inflation until you see some wage inflation."

JEFFREY MACMILLAN – USN&WR

Economist. *Popkin*

Of course, wage inflation is precisely what investors fear, now that the unemployment rate has fallen to 6.4 percent and the economy is creating some 250,000 jobs a month. But the labor market, at least for now, may be much weaker than it appears. Payrolls have grown just 2 percent in the past year – making this by far the weakest job-market recovery in at least three decades. And though factories are working record amounts of overtime, 41 percent of manufacturers in a recent survey said they would handle additional production needs with more overtime, not new hiring. Finally, Harvard University economist James Medoff has shown that the demand for work – measured in terms of the unemployment rate, the high level of involuntary part-time employment and the number of "discouraged workers" who have dropped out of the labor force – remains far higher than the supply of jobs.

A limp labor market should mollify inflation hawks, but of course it is bad news for wage earners and anyone who desires a more robust economy. Consumers have contributed mightily to the recovery so far, but they have done it by borrowing more and saving less. Economists at Goldman, Sachs & Co., a Wall Street investment bank, estimate that monthly job creation would have to increase by a staggering 50 percent to sustain recent increases in consumer spending. Says Goldman economist Edward McKelvey: "Consumers could say, 'To hell with it, I'll spend anyway.' But not for long." ■

BY DAVID HAGE

U.S. Secretary of Labor Robert Reich will be live on U.S. News Online, on CompuServe, at 9:30 EST on Thursday, May 19. For a free start-up kit: (800) 510-4247.

BY JACK EGAN

Ruthlessly raising rates? Not so far

> *"I used to think that if there was reincarnation, I wanted to come back as the president or the pope or as a .400 baseball hitter. But now I'd like to come back as the bond market. You can intimidate everybody."*
>
> –JAMES CARVILLE

When President Clinton's crafty campaign manager made these remarks in early 1993, Clintonites were still basking in the glow of a rising bond market and falling interest rates. In recent months, however, the bond market has collapsed, and yields, which move inversely to prices, have surged to the highest levels since Clinton took office. Losses for bond-market investors have been massive. As illogical as it seems, those punishing losses could soon be reversed, and bonds might again become an attractive investment–if the Fed were to really hike short-term interest rates instead of simply nudging them higher. But that's a big if.

The markets regard the Fed as wimpy.

The violent U-turn has cowed the administration, which was banking on lower long-term rates to sustain economic expansion. The Federal Reserve Board has also been put on the spot. When the central bank kicked off the bond market's slide in February by raising a key short-term interest rate by a quarter point after 26 straight quarter-point cuts over the previous five years, Fed Chairman Alan Greenspan expressed the hope that this pre-emptive strike against a new price spiral would cause long-term bond yields to come down as investors were reassured that a new outbreak of inflation wouldn't erode future interest income. But, boy, was he wrong.

Tough medicine. As the Fed's Open Market Committee meets on Tuesday to review its interest rate policy, it faces a paradox. The central bank has already moved three times this year to increase its federal funds rate, the interest that banks charge on overnight loans, raising it in quarter-point increments to 3.75 percent. But the markets continue to regard the central bank as wimpy.

The betting is that the Fed will opt for another modest boost this week, given that the economy is already slowing and inflation in April was nil. But that could again backfire. Some experts would like to see the Fed push rates much higher in order to get ahead of the curve. For example, Wayne Angell, a former Fed governor and now chief economist for Bear Stearns, the investment firm, recently suggested that the Fed jump the sensitive discount rate–what banks pay to borrow from the central bank–by a full point, to 4 percent, and hike the federal funds rate to 4.5 percent.

Such shock treatment would raise howls in Washington. But the upshot might be to significantly lower long-term rates and boost the dollar. To date, the Fed's gradualism has had the opposite effect. "The incremental approach is water torture for the markets," notes Robert Hormats, vice chairman of Goldman Sachs International.

That's because each small increase has fostered anticipation of another one, leaving investors reluctant to purchase income-producing securities when higher rates are in the offing. "Why buy a bond at 7 percent when you can soon get it for 7.5 percent?" asks Ronald Leven, a financial markets economist at Morgan Guaranty Trust.

The waiting game is especially acute for foreign investors–the Japanese in particular. They have had to contend with a sliding greenback, which has reduced the value of their dollar-denominated assets. The double hit from dollar and bond losses has created a vicious cycle, says Hormats: "The bond market goes down, so foreigners are reluctant to buy U.S. bonds, which means there is less demand for dollars, which makes U.S. bonds even less attractive."

But this vicious cycle could become a virtuous cycle. Many foreigners, including the Japanese, would like to harvest the rich yields currently available here but want to be assured that the Fed has finished tightening and the dollar has stopped falling. As the flows reversed, the dollar and bond prices would surge and long-term rates would fall.

The time may be near for domestic investors who have been dumping bonds and bond funds to start buying again, in the view of some analysts. "Investors should start loading up on long-term bonds," advises Stephen Slifer, chief financial market economist with Lehman Brothers. Last week, the Treasury's 10-year note was returning almost 7.5 percent against less than 6 percent three months ago. With inflation now around 2.5 percent, the real return on these notes is about 5 percent–the highest since 1987, says Slifer. In his view, these extraordinary real rates are already cutting into economic activity. As the economic slowdown becomes more apparent, he expects long-term rates to subside and predicts the yield on the 10-year note will be back to 6.25 percent by the end of the year.

Given the demoralized fixed-income markets, further losses may still be in the cards unless the Fed hikes rates decisively. That could be the best prescription not only for bond investors but also for the economy, which would benefit from the renewed fall in long-term rates. ■

ROBERT NEUBECKER FOR *USN&WR*

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D-DAY HISTORY'S GREATEST INVASION

Was it a unique event in the annals of warfare? Could so massive a military enterprise ever be undertaken again? ■ **By John Keegan**

Fifty years ago, on June 6, 1944, some 10,000 German soldiers who had gone to sleep beside an empty English Channel saw, at first light, a sea filled from horizon to horizon with ships. There were, we now know, 3,500 of them, 70 to each of the 50 miles of Normandy coastline off which they were ranked. Three thousand were landing craft or attack transports, 500 were warships that, soon after 5 o'clock, began to deluge the coastline and its hinterland with a rain of shells. At 6 a.m., hundreds of landing craft commenced the run-in through wind-whipped seas to the beaches. By 6:30, 15,000 American, British and Canadian infantrymen, here and there supported by amphibious tanks, were landing under fire to assault the line of German strongpoints that faced them.

They were not the first Allied soldiers to arrive in Normandy on June 6. In the hours of darkness, 10,000 American and 5,000 British paratroopers had dropped from the bellies of C-47s at the western and eastern ends of the 50-mile assault zone. The British made a concentrated drop, as planned, and swiftly began to blow bridges and block roads to prevent a German counterattack on their beaches' vulnerable flank. The Americans, scattered by unexpected bad weather, were dispersed over a wide area. Some landed as far as 70 miles from their drop zones.

The dispersion only enhanced the effect of the airborne surprise. Reports of parachute landings came to German headquarters from so many points that it was impossible to coordinate countermeasures. While the American jumpers searched for each other in the French countryside, the German defenders got lost trying to track down their attackers. Throughout June 6, both the British and the American airborne troops succeeded in consolidating strong positions, which the Germans failed to overwhelm.

They also failed to drive the seaborne attackers back into the sea and to prevent them from establishing well-defended footholds. Late in the afternoon of June 6, one German tank division, the 21st Panzer, drove to within 3 miles of

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INVADE. The Germans badly bloodied their first-wave attackers on Omaha Beach, but they

the sea. It was stopped by a line of tanks and antitank guns lining a ridge in its path. In the gun duel that followed, 19 German tanks were destroyed and the 21st Panzer withdrew. Its commander had told his leading tank officer before the attack, "If you do not succeed in throwing the British into the sea, we shall have lost the war." No German unit ever again got so close to the beaches, and the eventual defeat of Hitler's Reich may be dated from that hour.

All who saw the invasion spectacle, enemies and Allies alike, testified to the extraordinary impression it left on them. Fear was a universal, pervasive emotion on D-Day. Yet many who felt it still said that they would not have missed the day for anything. There had been no military operation of such scale ever before, and even at the time participants doubted that there would be ever again. To have seen D-Day, some said, was like having seen the Great Plains before the destruction of the buffalo millions. It could never be re-created, nor even replicated in artifice, for no filmmaker would ever be able to assemble the numbers of men, ships and aircraft—more than 13,000 Allied aircraft—involved.

The surprise factor. Was D-Day a unique event? What has happened since 1944 to deny the possibility of a repetition? To answer that question, it is useful to remember that the condition that made the success of D-Day possible was surprise. D-Day surprised the Germans in three ways—in timing, in location and in the means used. The surprise was heightened because the Allies were able to mount a vast and elaborate deception to convince the enemy that the landing would take place not in Normandy but 150 miles away, near Calais, on the French-Belgian border.

The key to the deception was the Allies' ability to read German cipher messages and thus monitor how well they were misleading Hitler. German secret signals were encrypted on Enigma—a machine that, by a combination of mechanical and electrical switching, could be set to transmit a message in a staggering 200 trillion ways. At the outbreak of the Second World War, the computer had not been invented, so the Wehrmacht had good reason to believe that its radio transmissions of Enigma encrypts were unbreakable. Not in many lifetimes, the Germans thought, could even the most sophisticated decrypter test all possible variations.

Unfortunately for them, they were wrong. Just as the Americans succeeded in reading the Japanese machine cipher code-named "Purple," so too did the British break Enigma. Human errors in encrypting gave them the first clues; eventually, they built systems that cracked whole messages in "real time"—that is, messages read simultaneously by both the intended recipient and the eavesdropper. By April 1944, Enigma intercepts were revealing that the Germans had begun to respond to the Allied deception plan by stationing a majority of their units near Calais, exactly as hoped.

It is most unlikely that the Enigma success could be repeated today. The knowledge of the Allied decrypting triumphs has driven all major cipher users to take extraordinary measures to preserve signal security. The largest computers in existence are used against encrypted radio messages. Equally large computers are used to generate random-number cipher bases that push an eavesdropper's computer capacity to the limit. How the advantage in this war is won and lost is itself ultrasecret. What seems certain is that the years of successful eavesdropping the Allies enjoyed in 1941-45 can never be replicated. Moreover, ultrasecret messages are, wherever possible, transmitted by cable, not radio, and thus cannot be intercepted. The German use of radio was careless. That lesson has been learned.

The Allies not only could listen to the Germans. They could see what they were doing. So overwhelming was Allied air superiority that reconnaissance flights above northern France were able to pho-

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

did not push them back into the sea. It was a failure that doomed the Reich.

tograph, almost at will, the position of German units and defenses to verify the success of their deception. The Germans, by contrast, could not overfly the coasts of Britain where the invasion fleet was gathering. No German aircraft were allowed to see British ports opposite Normandy choked with assault ships; but the Luftwaffe was allowed to see the ports opposite Calais, with their carefully displayed signs of an invasion force gathering there. The photographs brought back fed the German delusion that Calais was the danger area.

Satellite surveillance, now available to major military powers, makes such a one-sided edge impossible to duplicate. There might be, as a preliminary to a surprise attack, an antisatellite war in space. That, however, is forbidden by treaty, would in itself be a warning and, it would have to be reckoned, might not be won. The days of preparing a major offensive at leisure and unleashing it at a time and place of the attacker's choosing have, in any putative war between high-tech equals, gone for good.

The Germans were not only outdone in intelligence and surveillance. They were also outgunned. Allied firepower was overwhelming, and the Germans could not respond in kind. They might, had time been on their side, have been able to respond with secret weapons the Allies lacked. Their V-1 cruise missile, however, was not flown operationally until six days after D-Day; by that time, the harbors at which it might have been aimed were empty, and the rockets were fired ineffectually at London instead of at Normandy, still choked with men and materiel, where they might have done harm. The Allies, informed of the German secret weapons program by their Enigma decrypts, greatly feared the threat. One of the invasion objectives was to capture the V-1 launch sites as quickly as possible. Once D-Day was over, the possibility of the Germans' aborting its launch by V-1 strikes evaporated.

What if? Guided cruise and ballistic missiles have now reached a degree of technical perfection that the German pioneers could have only imagined. Large, static concentrations of shipping present targets that could be devastated with ease. It is safe to say that had Hitler had and used such weapons, D-Day could never have been launched; indeed, it could never have been contemplated before a preliminary and enormously destructive missile war had been fought and won.

In the course of such a war, it is likely that the Allies would have completed their development of nuclear weapons, the first of which they exploded only 13 months after D-Day. Hitler, however, had a nuclear weapons program of his own and, had he been able to prolong the war by averting D-Day, might then have succeeded in threatening his enemies with a nuclear strike. The era of deterrence—or of mutual assured destruction—might have dawned before World War II ended.

We can see now that nuclear weapons are the ultimate factor determining whether anything like a D-Day invasion could happen again. Nuclear weapons have transformed the relationship between states for good. D-Day was necessary only because conventional weapons were insufficient to deter a megalomaniac from attacking all his neighbors or to prevent him from conquering a whole continent. No megalomaniac, unless he wills his own destruction, can set out on the course that Hitler took. Anything like D-Day is therefore an unnecessary conception in the world of the present and the future. That is not to diminish the sacrifice of the 3,000 Americans, Britons and Canadians who died on the Normandy beaches on June 6, 1944. It is only to say that the sacrifice they made in the cause of maintaining decency in international relations is not one which, in that form, will ever have to be made again.

Contributing Editor John Keegan is the author of many works on military history, including The Second World War *and* Six Armies in Normandy.

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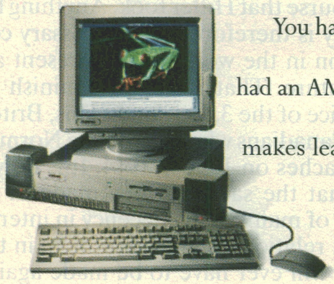

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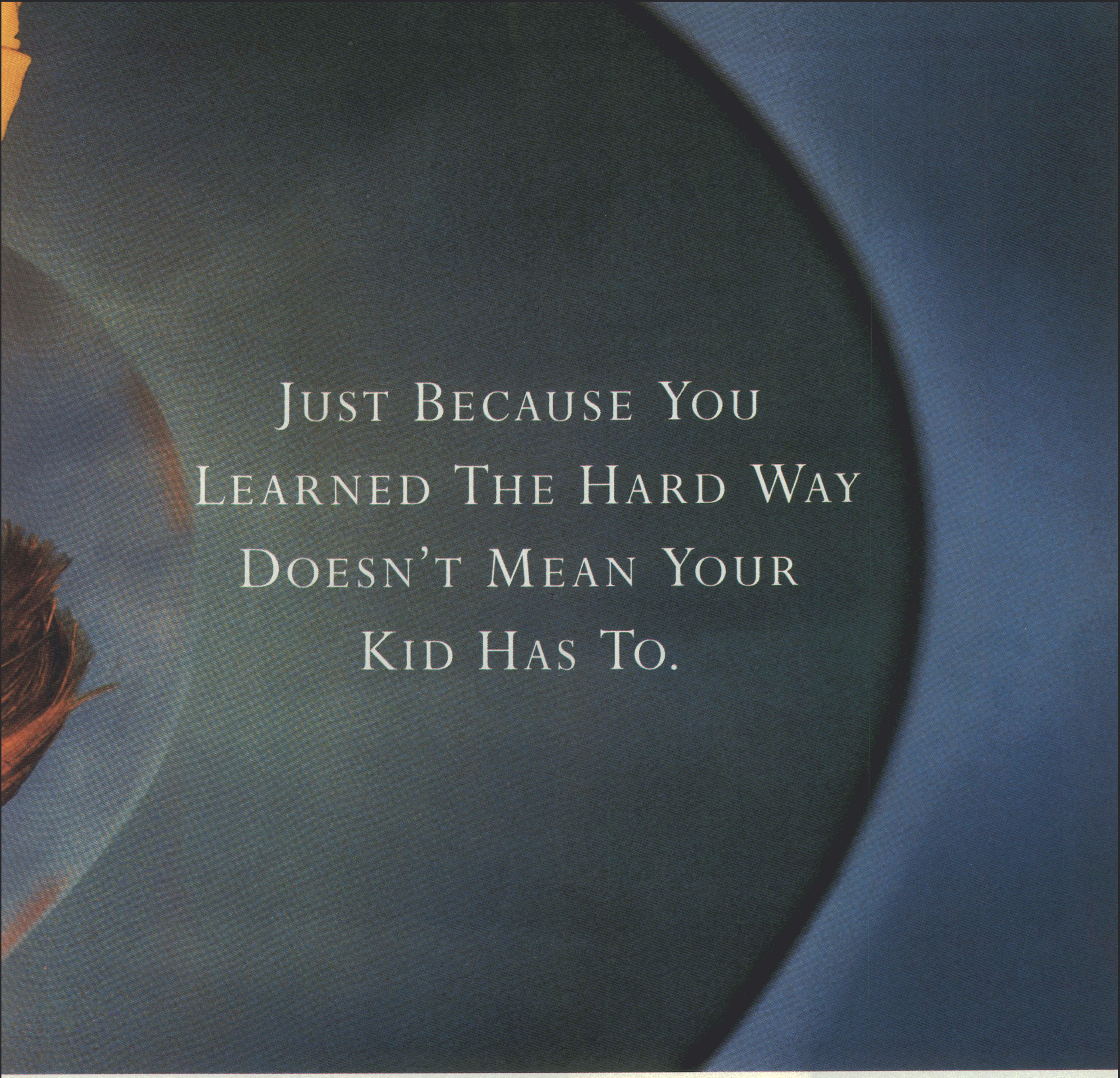

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COVER STORY

THE COMMANDERS

Eisenhower's canniness, Rommel's absence, Hitler's sleeping habits – all combined to open the way for Europe's reconquest

By Stephen E. Ambrose

Adolf Hitler had learned the lesson of World War I – that Germany could not win a war of attrition. In the first two years of World War II, his policy was blitzkrieg. But in the late fall of 1941, his lightning-war strategy foundered in Russia and he made the most incomprehensible of his many mistakes. He declared war on the United States in the same week that the Red Army launched its counteroffensive outside Moscow. In the summer of 1942, the Wehrmacht tried blitzkrieg against the Red Army again, on a much-reduced scale, only to fail once more when the snow began to fall. At the end of January 1943, nearly a quarter of a million German troops in Stalingrad surrendered. That July the Wehrmacht launched its last offensive on the

HACKETT – ARCHIVE PHOTOS

eastern front, at Kursk. The Red Army stopped it cold, inflicting horrendous casualties and denying Hitler any chance of victory against the Soviet Union.

Hitler's only hope was to negotiate a new division of Eastern Europe between the Nazi and Soviet empires, akin to what existed from August 1939 to June 1941. That meant persuading Stalin that the Wehrmacht was still a serious threat and that the Allies could not be depended on. To do that, Hitler had to hurl Allied forces back into the sea when they made their inevitable attack in the west. "Once defeated, the enemy will never again try to invade," Hitler told his principal commanders in the west. "They would need months to organize a fresh attempt. And an invasion failure would also deliver a crushing blow to British and American morale. For one thing, it would prevent Roosevelt from being re-elected – with any luck he'd finish up in jail somewhere! For another, war weariness would grip Britain even faster, and Churchill, already a sick old man with his influence waning, wouldn't be able to carry through a new invasion operation."

Adapted from D-Day, June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of World War II, *to be published by Simon & Schuster on June 6. Stephen E. Ambrose, the author of multivolume biographies of Dwight Eisenhower and Richard Nixon, is director of the Eisenhower Center at the University of New Orleans.*

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But how to hurl the coming invasion back into the sea? Germany was overextended far more than in World War I. On the eastern front, Hitler's troops were stretched over more than 1,200 miles; on the Mediterranean front, where the line ran from southern Greece through Yugoslavia, then across Italy and southern France, his troops were defending a line of some 1,800 miles; on the western front, his troops

SEA WATCH. In 1940, Hitler looks toward England from the French coast. In 1944, he felt sure the Allies would land near Calais.

had to defend 3,700 miles of coastline from Holland to the southern end of the Bay of Biscay. And actually, there was a fourth front, at home. The Allied air offensive against German cities had driven the Luftwaffe out of France, forcing it to stay home patrolling its own skies.

Hitler hated the defensive. It stuck in his craw so bad that it led him to make strategic and technological blunders of the greatest magnitude. In May 1943, Prof. Willi Messerschmitt had an ME-262 twin-jet fighter ready for serial production. Its cruise speed was 520 miles per hour, more than 120 miles an hour better than any plane the Allies could send against it. Hitler was impressed, but he wanted a bomber to hit London, not a fighter to defend Germany. Demanding that the plane be made into a bomber, which was impossible, he thwarted Reichsmarschall Hermann Goering's plans to produce the jet fighters, and only in the final weeks of the war, when Germany was past saving from defeat, did the Luftwaffe get as many as 100 jets into the air at one time. They dramatically outperformed Allied aircraft, knocking them out of the sky even when outnumbered 100 to 1. A report prepared for General Eisenhower concluded that if the Germans had been able to deploy the jets in force on D-Day, "they could have denied us air superiority and frustrated the Normandy landings and might even have compelled us to work our way up into Europe via the Italian route."

Ike and Erwin. Second only to Hitler in the imprint they would leave on D-Day—for good or for ill—were Dwight Eisenhower and Erwin Rommel. On the battlefield, Rommel was an aggressive risk taker, Eisenhower a cautious calculator. Rommel won battles through brilliant maneuvering, Eisenhower by overwhelming the enemy. As Rommel always commanded forces inferior in numbers and firepower, his method was appropriate; as Eisenhower always commanded forces that were superior, so was his.

Born in 1890, Eisenhower was one year older than Rommel. His father was a mechanic, Rommel's a schoolteacher. Both fathers were classic Germanic parents who imposed a harsh discipline on their sons, enforced by physical punishment. Both boys were avid athletes. Al-

UPI / BETTMANN

SPIT AND POLISH. In the spring of '44, Rommel visits a bunker dubbed "Annie Marie" after a popular song. Construction of the Atlantic wall was far from complete.

POPPERFOTO / ARCHIVE PHOTOS

IKE'S MORALE CALL. On the eve of D-Day, Eisenhower mingles with the men of the 101st Airborne. His message: Don't worry, we're ready.

though neither family had a military tradition, each boy went to military school; in 1910 Rommel entered the Royal Officer Cadet School in Danzig; Eisenhower in 1911 went to West Point.

Their careers diverged in World War I. Rommel was a combat leader in France and Italy, highly decorated (Iron Cross, first and second class; the coveted Pour le Mérite). Eisenhower was stuck in the States as a training commander, a bitter blow from which he feared he would never recover. Still, as junior officers, both showed remarkable leadership ability.

In the interwar years, Rommel remained a line officer, while Eisenhower was a staff officer. Rommel's regimental commander wrote of him in 1934: "Head and shoulders above the average battalion commander in every respect." That same year, Eisenhower's superior, Chief of Staff Douglas MacArthur, wrote of him: "This is the best officer in the Army. When the next war comes, he should go right to the top."

The war brought both men out of obscurity. Rommel made his reputation first of all as commander of the panzer division that led the way through France in 1940; he added enormous luster to it and became a world figure as commander of the Afrika Korps in the eastern North African desert in 1941-42. Eisenhower became a world figure in November 1942 in the North African desert, as commander of the Allied forces.

Yet, after Rommel lost the Battle of El Alamein in the late fall of 1942, he became what Hitler called a defeatist, what others would call a realist. On November 20, when he learned that of the 50 transport planes bringing fuel for his tanks, 45 had been shot down, Rommel went for a walk in the desert with one of his battalion commanders, Major Hans von Luck. Rommel said: "Supplies will not be forthcoming. Hitler's HQ has already written off this theater of war. All he requires now is that 'the German soldier stands or dies.' . . . Luck, the war is lost!"

First blood. The Americans, coming from the western desert, were waiting for the Afrika Korps in Tunisia. There, in February 1943, Rommel and Eisenhower first clashed, in the Battle of Kasserine Pass. Through surprise and audacity, Rommel scored impressive initial gains against the untried and inadequately trained Americans, who were led by untried and ill-prepared generals—including Eisenhower, who was fighting his first real battle. Eisenhower made many mistakes but recovered from them, used his logistical and firepower superiority effectively and eventually won the battle.

By this time Rommel was suffering from high blood pressure (so was Eisenhower), violent headaches, nervous exhaustion and rheumatism. With surrender in North Africa imminent, Hitler ordered Rommel home, after promoting him to field marshal. He spent most of the rest of 1943 without a command.

In late October 1943, Gen. Alfred Jodl, chief of operations at Oberkommando der Wehrmacht (OKW), suggested to Hitler that Rommel be given tactical command in the west, under Field Marshal Gerd von Rundstedt, who was commander in chief, west. Rundstedt was Germany's senior serving field marshal, at 69 too old to command in battle. He was short of energy and short of supplies, so although he had been charged with building an impregnable Atlantic wall, almost nothing had been done except

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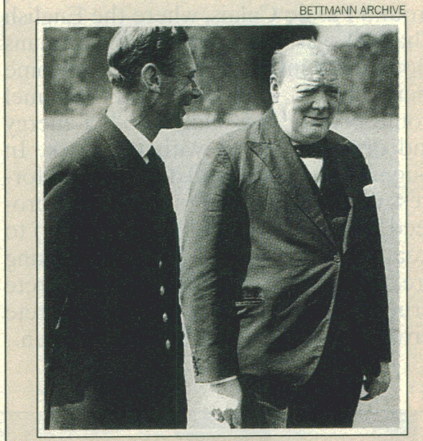


King George and his subject

KING GEORGE'S D-DAY MISSION

Winston Churchill visited Dwight Eisenhower shortly before D-Day to beg a favor: He wanted to go along on the invasion on HMS Belfast. Eisenhower told him it was out of the question; he was worth too much to the Allied cause.

As Eisenhower related the story, the prime minister said, "You have operational command of all forces, but you are not responsible administratively for the makeup of the crews." When Eisenhower agreed that this was so, the 69-year-old Churchill said, "Well, then, I can sign on as a member of the crew of one of His Majesty's ships, and there's nothing you can do about it."

"That's correct. But, Prime Minister, you will make my burden a lot heavier if you do it."

Churchill said he was going to do it anyway. Eisenhower had his chief of staff, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith, call King George VI to explain the problem. The king told Smith, "You boys leave Winston to me." He called Churchill to say, "As long as you feel that it is desirable to go along, I think it is my duty to go along with you." Churchill gave up.

around Pas de Calais, where the English Channel was narrowest. The Germans thought the invasion most likely to come there. Jodl's idea was that Rommel would provide the badly needed energy and drive to get on with the work. In August 1942, Hitler had decreed that fortress construction in France should proceed with *fanatismus* (fanatic energy) to create a continuous belt of interlocking fire emanating from bombproof concrete structures. He wanted 15,000 concrete strongpoints occupied by 300,000 men.

BAYERISCHE STAATSBIBLIOTHEK / HOFFMANN ARCHIVE

GEOGRAPHY LESSON. Hitler reviews maps on the afternoon of D-Day. "They are landing . . . just where we expected them," he lied.

Hitler's passion for detail was astonishing. He often spent hours studying the maps showing installations along the Atlantic wall. He demanded reports on building progress, the thickness of concrete, the kind of concrete used, the system used to put in the steel reinforcement. Then, after demanding creation of the greatest fortification in history, not once did he bother to inspect any part of it. He did not give Rommel tactical command for the invasion battle, but he ordered him to make an inspection of the Atlantic wall and report back to him. Rommel was shocked by what he saw. He denounced the Atlantic wall as a farce, "a figment of Hitler's *wokenkuckucksheim* [cloud-cuckoo-land] . . . an enormous bluff . . . more for the German people than for the enemy . . . and the enemy, through his agents, knows more about it than we do."

"I want mines." Rommel believed Allied control of the air would prevent the movement of German reinforcements to the battle area, so "our only possible chance will be at the beaches – that's where the enemy is always weakest." As a start on building a genuine Atlantic wall, he said, "I want antipersonnel mines, antitank mines, antiparatroop mines. I want mines to sink ships and mines to sink landing craft." But he felt that no matter how many millions of mines were laid, fixed defenses could only hold up the assault, not turn it back; it would take a rapid counterattack on D-Day itself by mobile infantry and panzer divisions to do that. Those units had to be moved close to the coast to be in a position to deliver the decisive counterattack.

On this critical issue, Rundstedt disagreed. He wanted to let the Allies move inland, then fight the decisive battle in the interior of France, well out of range of the heavy guns of the British and American battleships and cruisers. This fundamental disagreement would persist to plague the German high command right through D-Day and beyond. Strategically, the German generals never learned the plain lesson that the Red Army could have taught them had they studied Red Army strategy – that a flexible defense that can give under pressure and strike back when the attacker is overextended best suited the conditions of World War II. Despite their disagreement, Rommel and Rundstedt got on well together. Rundstedt urged that Rommel's Army Group B headquarters be given command of the 15th and 7th armies, stretching from Holland to the Loire River in southern Brittany. Hitler agreed. Rommel assumed his new command on Jan. 15, 1944.

On that very day, Eisenhower took up his duties as supreme commander for the Allied Expeditionary Force. Franklin Roosevelt had wanted Army Chief of Staff George Marshall to lead the invasion of France, but he decided that he could not sleep at night with Marshall out of the country. There were manifold reasons for Eisenhower's selection. He had commanded three successful invasions, all joint operations involving the British. He got on well with the British, and they with him. Gen. Bernard Montgomery, already selected as commander of the ground forces committed to Overlord, said of Eisenhower: "He has merely to smile at you, and you trust him at once."

Eisenhower found that having Overlord headquarters in London was too distracting. Within two weeks he moved it to Bushy Park, outside the city. His staff, with much grumbling, moved into tents. He moved into the two-bedroom Telegraph Cottage, making do with the least pretentious home of any general in England. Rommel, likewise, found Paris a Babel. He wanted his headquarters elsewhere. His staff, with much grumbling, left the City of Light and moved 37 miles down the Seine River to the sleepy village of La Roche Guyon. Eisenhower wanted a dog for a companion. Aides found him a scottie puppy. Rommel wanted a dog for a companion. Aides found him a dachshund puppy. The dogs slept in their masters' bedrooms.

UPI / BETTMANN

COMMAND PRESENCE. Eisenhower was a master at orchestrating the diverse talents and egos that made up the Allied Expeditionary Force's Supreme Command.

Each general galloped into action, setting a pace that exhausted other men in their early 50s. Where there had been hesitation and drift, there was now conviction and movement. "I'm going to throw myself into this new job with everything I've got," Rommel wrote to his wife, "and I'm going to see it turns out a success." Eisenhower said on arrival, "We are approaching a tremendous crisis with stakes incalculable." Each general was typically on the road by 6 each morning, inspecting, driving, training, preparing his men. They ate on the run – field rations or a sandwich and a cup of coffee. Eisenhower averaged four hours' sleep per night, Rommel hardly more.

Power games. Rommel was cursed with a confused command structure. Hitler ran the armed services as he ran the government, by the principle of divide and rule. Rommel did not have control over the Luftwaffe in France, nor of the Navy. He did not have administrative control of the Waffen SS units in France, nor of the paratrooper or antiaircraft units (they belonged to the Luftwaffe). It was never clear whether Rommel or Rundstedt would control the battle. Worst of all, Hitler wanted to command the panzer divisions himself. They could be committed to the battle only on his orders – and his headquarters was more than 600 miles from the scene – and those were the divisions Rommel was depending on for a first-day counterattack! Eisenhower had no such problems. His command was clear-cut, absolute.

Another profound difference: Eisen-

AP

Andrew Higgins

'THE MAN WHO WON THE WAR'

Andrew Higgins was hot tempered, loudmouthed and given to drinking a bottle of whisky a day. He was also a self-taught genius in small-boat design whom Dwight Eisenhower called "the man who won the war for us." Higgins produced the landing craft that carried infantry ashore in the Mediterranean, in the Pacific and at Normandy. The cigar-shaped LCVP – 36 feet long and 10½ feet wide with plywood sides and stern and a metal ramp up front – could bring a platoon to the water line, discharge it and then go back to the mother ship for another load.

To make 20,000 LCVPs by the war's end, Higgins rapidly expanded his fly-by-night New Orleans company into vast assembly lines employing 30,000 workers at peak production. He inspired his workers the way a general tries to inspire his troops. A huge sign above the work floor announced: "The Man Who Relaxes Is Helping the Axis." In his factories' bathrooms, Higgins displayed pictures of Hitler, Mussolini and Hirohito sitting on toilets. "Come on in, brother," the caption read. "Take it easy. Every minute you loaf here helps us plenty."

hower believed with all his heart in the cause he was fighting for. He hated the Nazis and all they represented. Rommel was no Nazi—although at times he had been a toady to Hitler. And Rommel faced a battle against an enemy he never hated and indeed respected.

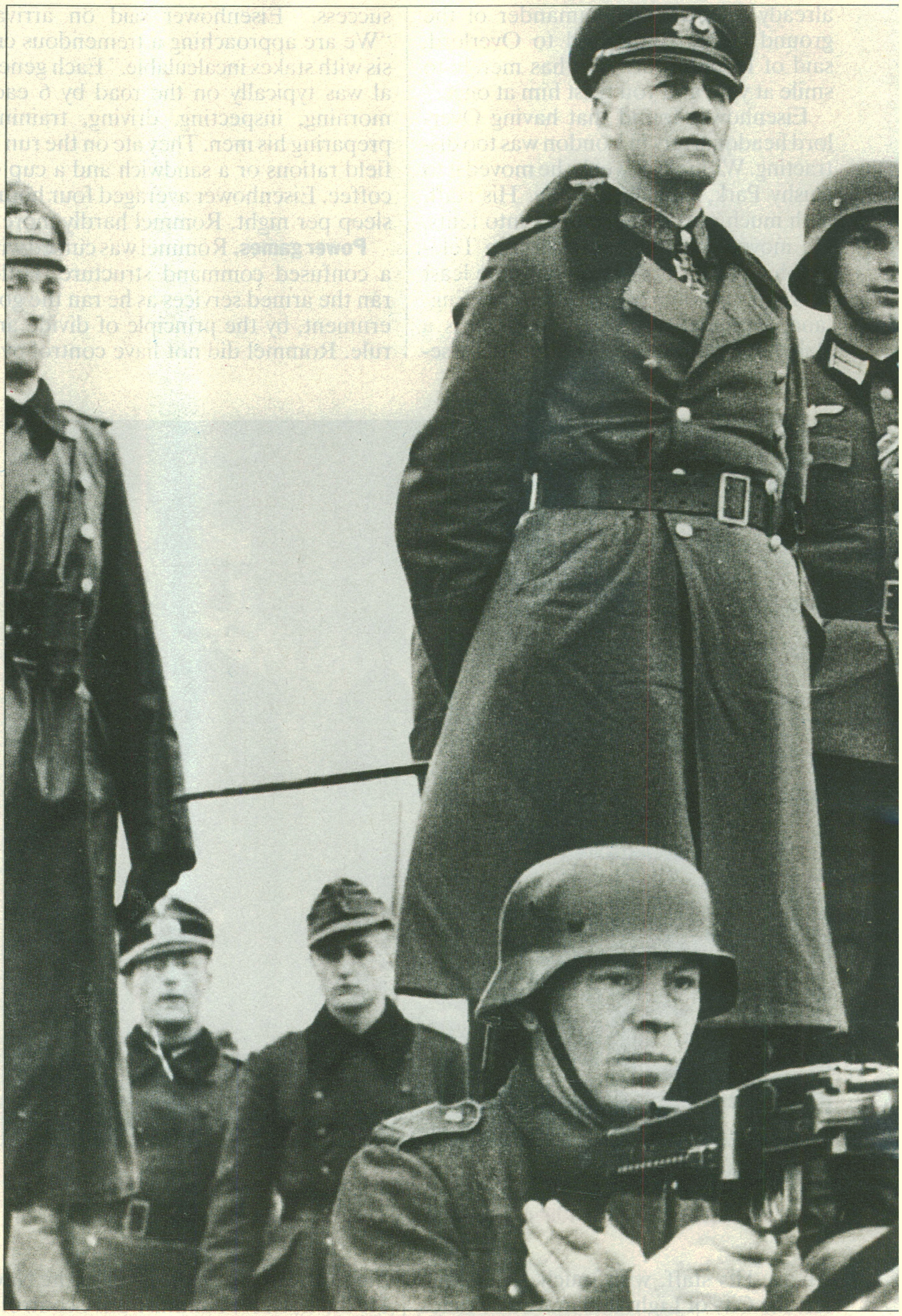
On June 3, 1944, Rommel drove to Paris to buy shoes for his wife, Lucie, whose birthday, fatefully, fell on June 6. In Paris, he conferred with Rundstedt, who agreed with him that "there is still no sign that the invasion is imminent." The tides in the Strait of Dover would not be suitable for an invasion until mid-June. The weather report indicated increasing clouds, high winds, rain. He decided to go to his home in Herrlingen for Lucie's birthday, then to Berchtesgaden to beg Hitler for reinforcements. He wanted more panzer divisions and control of all the tanks. He wrote in his diary, "The most urgent problem is to win the *führer* over by personal conversation."

COLLECTION VIOLLET

DOMESTIC INTERLUDE. Rommel with the children of propaganda minister Joseph Goebbels. Away with his wife on D-Day, the field marshal missed the action.

Although Rommel had half or less of what he calculated he required in men, guns, mines, beach obstacles and fixed emplacements, he exuded confidence. Morale was apparently high all along the Atlantic wall, or so the German leaders told themselves. That was Rommel's achievement. He had managed to persuade many of his officers and some of his troops that not only did they have a chance, they would prevail.

History on hold. Eisenhower had set D-Day for June 5. On June 4, at a predawn meeting, as ships began forming into convoys, he was told that the weather the next day would be overcast and stormy. He decided to postpone for at least one day. At 6 a.m. he gave his orders to put everything on hold. At just that moment, Rommel began his long journey east, away from the coast, to see his wife and his *führer.* As he departed, in a light drizzle, he remarked, "There's not going to *be* an invasion. And if there is, then they won't even get off the beaches!" Rommel spent the day on the road, arriving in Herrlingen in time to walk in the twilight with Lucie. She tried out her new shoes.



That evening, Eisenhower met in the mess room of Southwick House with his top commanders and other aides. At 9:30 p.m. came the latest weather report. It was good news: The rain that was then pouring down would stop before daybreak. There would be 36 hours of more or less clear weather. The bombers and fighters ought to be able to operate on Monday night, June 5-6, although they would be hampered by scattered clouds. Eisenhower began pacing, head down, chin on his chest, hands clasped behind his back. Suddenly, he shot his chin out at his chief of staff, Gen. Walter Bedell Smith: "What do you think?" Smith replied: "It's a helluva gamble, but it's the best possible gamble."

Eisenhower polled the high command.

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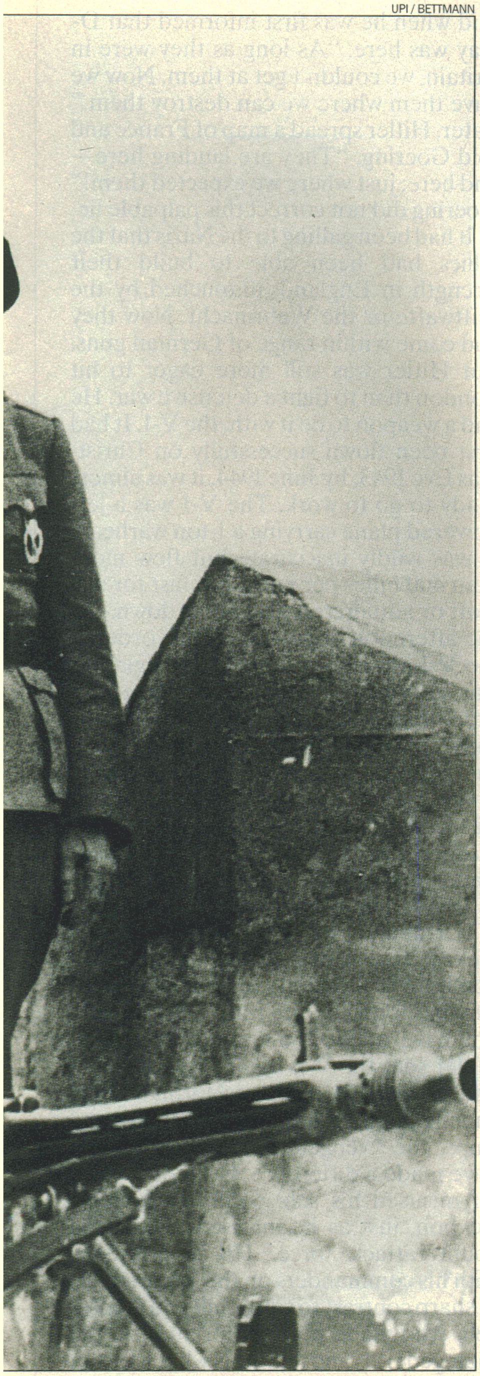


DILIGENCE. In the months leading up to D-Day, Rommel, like Eisenhower, was on the road by 6 each morning, inspecting, driving and training his men.

It was split. Only he could decide. The only sounds in the room were the rattling of the french doors and the rain. It hardly seemed possible an amphibious attack could be launched in such weather. At 9:45, he gave his decision: "I am quite positive the order must be given." By midnight, the convoys again were forming. Eisenhower woke at 3:30 a.m, June 5. The wind was shaking his trailer. The rain seemed to travel in horizontal streaks. According to the forecast, it should have been letting up. He dressed and drove through a mile of mud to Southwick House for the last weather meeting. It was not too late to call off the operation, to have the fleet return and try again on June 19, the next time the tides would be favorable – and if the storm kept up, that would have to be done.

The forecast was even firmer than five hours earlier that the storm would break before dawn. But the good weather was only likely through Tuesday; Wednesday could be rough again. That raised the danger that the first waves would get ashore but the follow-up units would not.

Eisenhower asked for opinions, pacing, shooting out his chin. Montgomery still wanted to go. Adm. Bertram Ramsay was concerned about proper spotting for naval gunfire but thought the risk worth taking. Air Marshal Arthur Tedder was reluctant. Air Vice Marshal Trafford Leigh-Mallory still thought air conditions were below the acceptable minimum. Eisenhower reviewed in his mind the alternatives. If the weather forecast was wrong, at best he would be landing seasick men without air cover or an accurate naval bombardment. Yet, the men had been briefed; they could not be held on their transports and landing craft for two weeks; the risk that the Germans would penetrate the secret of Overlord was very high.

Forward march. He stopped pacing, faced his subordinates, then said quietly but clearly, "OK, let's go." Cheers rang through Southwick House. The commanders dashed outside to get to their command posts. Within 30 seconds, the mess room was empty, except for Eisenhower. His isolation was symbolic, for, having given the order, he was now powerless. Later that day, Eisenhower scrawled a press release on a pad of paper, to be used if necessary: "Our landings . . . have failed and I have withdrawn the troops. My decision to attack at this time and place was based upon the best information available. The troops, the air and the Navy all did all that bravery and devotion to duty could do. If any blame or fault attaches to the attempt, it is mine alone." Rommel was spending a quiet June 5 with Lucie. He gathered wildflowers for a birthday bouquet.

At about 7 p.m., Eisenhower visited the 101st Airborne Division at Greenham Common, where he told a group of enlisted men not to worry, that they had the best equipment and leaders in the world, with a vast force coming in

IMPERIAL WAR MUSEUM

Maj. Gen. Percy Hobart

PERCY HOBART'S GADGET GLORY

D-Day was a theater of British technological inventiveness. In March 1943, Gen. Percy Hobart of the 79th Armoured Division had been given the task of figuring out how to get armored support onto and over the beaches, to breach the concrete and minefields of the Atlantic wall. He came up with swimming tanks. Duplex Drive, they were called, after their twin propellers working off the main engine. They had a waterproof, air-filled canvas screen all around the hull, giving them the appearance of a baby carriage. The inflatable screen was dropped when the tank reached shore. Another of "Hobart's funnies" carried a 40-foot box-girder bridge for crossing tank ditches. Still another, the Crab, had a rotating drum in front of the tank that safely detonated any mines in its path.

Even more astonishing were the prefabricated ports towed across the English Channel. The floating piers, or Mulberries, allowed the platform to slide up and down with the tide on posts resting on the sea floor. The Mulberries were sheltered by instant breakwaters sunk off the French coast on D-Day Plus 1.

behind them. A sergeant from Texas piped up, "Hell, we ain't worried, General. It's the Krauts that ought to be worrying now." With one group, Eisenhower asked whether anyone was from Kansas, and Pvt. Sherman Oyler of Topeka said he was. "What's your name, son?" Oyler was so stricken by being addressed by the supreme commander that he froze up and forgot his name. After an embarrassing pause, his buddies shouted, "Tell him your name, Oyler." Eisenhower gave him a thumbs up and said, "Go get 'em, Kansas." Several hours later, Eisenhower stood on the runway and watched as the paratroopers departed, the C-47s taking off at 10-second intervals. When the last plane roared off, he turned to his driver, Kay Summersby. She saw tears in his eyes. "Well," he said quietly, "it's on."

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

UPPER HAND. Even with the seizing of the beaches, the Reich stood for another year.

There was no German counterattack. Rommel's plans for fighting the D-Day battle were not put into motion. Without air reconnaissance, with Allied airborne troops dropping here, there and everywhere, with their telephone lines cut by the Resistance, with their army, corps, division and some regimental commanders at the war game in Rennes, the Germans were all but blind and leaderless. The commander missed most was Rommel, who spent the day on the road driving back to La Roche Guyon – another price the Germans paid for having lost control of the air; Rommel dared not fly.

As early as 6:15 a.m., Gen. Max Pemsel, chief of staff of the 7th Army, informed Rommel's headquarters at La Roche Guyon of the Allies' massive air and naval bombardment; a half-hour later he reported to Rundstedt's headquarters that the landings were beginning – but he added that the 7th Army would be able to cope with the situation from its own resources. With that news, Gen. Hans von Salmuth, commanding the 15th Army, went back to bed. So did most of Rommel's staff at La Roche Guyon. They believed the Allied landings were a diversion; the "real" attack would come at Pas de Calais.

Late sleeper. The only high-command officer who responded correctly was Rundstedt, an old man scorned by Hitler and Oberkommando der Wehrmacht. He tried to get two panzer divisions moving toward the action immediately, but they were not under his command. Jodl informed Rundstedt that the two divisions could not be committed until Hitler gave the order, and the *führer* was still sleeping. He refused to wake Hitler, who slept until noon. The two panzer divisions spent the morning waiting. There was a heavy overcast; they could have moved out free from serious interference from Allied aircraft. It was 4 p.m. when Hitler at last gave his approval. By then, the clouds had broken up and Allied fighters and bombers ranged the skies over Normandy, smashing anything that moved. The panzers had to crawl into roadside woods and wait until dark.

"The news couldn't be better," Hitler said when he was first informed that D-Day was here. "As long as they were in Britain, we couldn't get at them. Now we have them where we can destroy them." Later, Hitler spread a map of France and told Goering, "They are landing here – and here: just where we expected them!" Goering did not correct this palpable lie.

It had been galling to the Nazis that the Allies had been able to build their strength in England, untouched by the Luftwaffe or the Wehrmacht. Now they had come within range of German guns. But Hitler was still more eager to hit London than to fight a defensive war. He had a weapon to do it with, the V-1. It had first been flown successfully on Christmas Eve 1943; by June 1944, it was almost ready to go to work. The V-1 was a jet-powered plane carrying a 1-ton warhead. It was wildly inaccurate but flew more than 400 miles per hour, too fast for aircraft or antiaircraft to shoot it down. On the afternoon of June 6, Hitler ordered the V-1 attacks on London to begin. As was so often the case, he was giving an order that could not be carried out. It took six days to bring the heavy steel catapult rigs to the channel coast. The attack did not begin until June 12, and it was a fiasco: Of 10 V-1s launched, four crashed at once, two vanished without trace, one demolished a railroad bridge in London and three hit open fields.

Fortunately for the Allies, Hitler had picked the wrong target. Haphazard bombing of London could cause sleepless nights and induce terror, but it could not have a direct military effect. Had Hitler sent the V-1s against the beaches and artificial harbors of Normandy, by June 12 jammed with men, machines and ships, the "vengeance weapons" might have made a difference. On D-Day, Hitler misused his sole potential strategic weapon, just as he misused his tactical counterattack force. His interference with his commanders on the scene stands in sharp contrast to Churchill and Roosevelt, who made no attempt at all to tell their generals and admirals what to do on D-Day, and to Eisenhower, who also left the decision making to his subordinates.

On June 6, Eisenhower wrote a brief message to Marshall informing the chief of staff that everything seemed to be going well. He called a few members of the press into his canvas-roofed, pine-walled quarters and answered questions. For the rest of the day he paced, his mood alternating as he received news of the situation on the British and Canadian beaches and on Omaha and Utah. He retired early to get a good night's sleep. On D-Day itself, the supreme commander gave not one command. ■

THEIRS BUT TO DO AND DIE

On D-Day, the valley of death was a beach named Omaha ■ **By Gerald Parshall**

At a treetop observation post above Omaha Beach, Lt. Hans Heinze was incredulous as he looked out to sea. Wiping off his binoculars, he looked again and then gave them to his messenger to look as well. The fog that had obscured their vision moments before had lifted, and the vast armada bearing down upon them—ship after ship after ship—was now unmistakable. *"Sie kommen!"* Heinze exclaimed. They are coming! He scribbled a message to his battalion headquarters and handed it to the messenger. "They'll never believe it," he thought.

On the bluffs nearby, Lt. Friedrich Frerking stood with binoculars pressed to his eyes. He said softly, as if arguing with himself, "That's not possible! That's not possible!" He tossed the binoculars to Pfc. Hein Severloh, his orderly. Severloh felt his chest tighten. As he heard other cries of disbelief echo through the fortifications all along the beach, he retreated into a bunker to pray. Although

BILDERDIENST SUDDEUTSCHER VERLAG

WAITING. Whether aiming at the sky, the sea or the beach, German defenders of the Atlantic wall enjoyed exceptional fields of fire.

the early hours after midnight had brought reports of paratroop landings, the last two weeks had seen many false alarms. Most officers and men had assumed this was another.

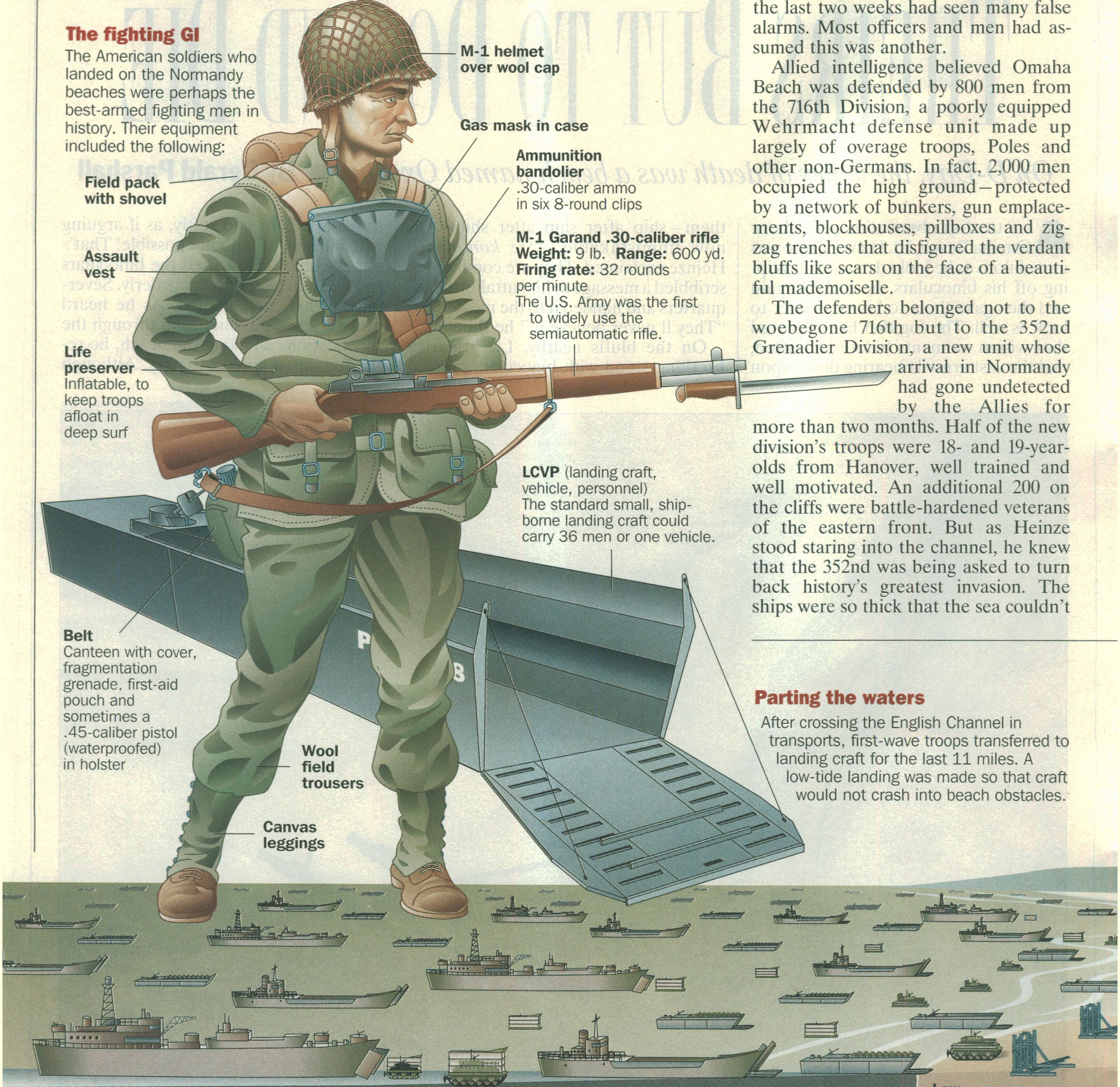
Allied intelligence believed Omaha Beach was defended by 800 men from the 716th Division, a poorly equipped Wehrmacht defense unit made up largely of overage troops, Poles and other non-Germans. In fact, 2,000 men occupied the high ground—protected by a network of bunkers, gun emplacements, blockhouses, pillboxes and zigzag trenches that disfigured the verdant bluffs like scars on the face of a beautiful mademoiselle.

The defenders belonged not to the woebegone 716th but to the 352nd Grenadier Division, a new unit whose arrival in Normandy had gone undetected by the Allies for more than two months. Half of the new division's troops were 18- and 19-year-olds from Hanover, well trained and well motivated. An additional 200 on the cliffs were battle-hardened veterans of the eastern front. But as Heinze stood staring into the channel, he knew that the 352nd was being asked to turn back history's greatest invasion. The ships were so thick that the sea couldn't

OMAHA BEACH AT H-HOUR

The fighting GI

The American soldiers who landed on the Normandy beaches were perhaps the best-armed fighting men in history. Their equipment included the following:



M-1 helmet over wool cap

Gas mask in case

Ammunition bandolier
.30-caliber ammo in six 8-round clips

M-1 Garand .30-caliber rifle
Weight: 9 lb. **Range:** 600 yd.
Firing rate: 32 rounds per minute
The U.S. Army was the first to widely use the semiautomatic rifle.

Field pack with shovel

Assault vest

Life preserver
Inflatable, to keep troops afloat in deep surf

LCVP (landing craft, vehicle, personnel)
The standard small, ship-borne landing craft could carry 36 men or one vehicle.

Belt
Canteen with cover, fragmentation grenade, first-aid pouch and sometimes a .45-caliber pistol (waterproofed) in holster

Wool field trousers

Canvas leggings

Parting the waters

After crossing the English Channel in transports, first-wave troops transferred to landing craft for the last 11 miles. A low-tide landing was made so that craft would not crash into beach obstacles.

LSTs and LCTs
LSTs (landing ships, tanks) could carry 300 men and 60 vehicles at only 9 knots. These shallow-draft, deep-water ships could land in high surf. Smaller LCTs (landing craft, tanks) carried 55 men and 11 vehicles at 6 knots.

Duplex Drive tanks
Thirty-three-ton Sherman tanks were fitted with twin propellers and buoyant skirts to enable them to "swim" to shore. Rough water sank dozens of tanks; others were trapped on the beach in the line of fire.

LCI
LCIs (landing craft, infantry) were 160-foot-long craft carrying up to 200 fully equipped men at 12.5 knots.

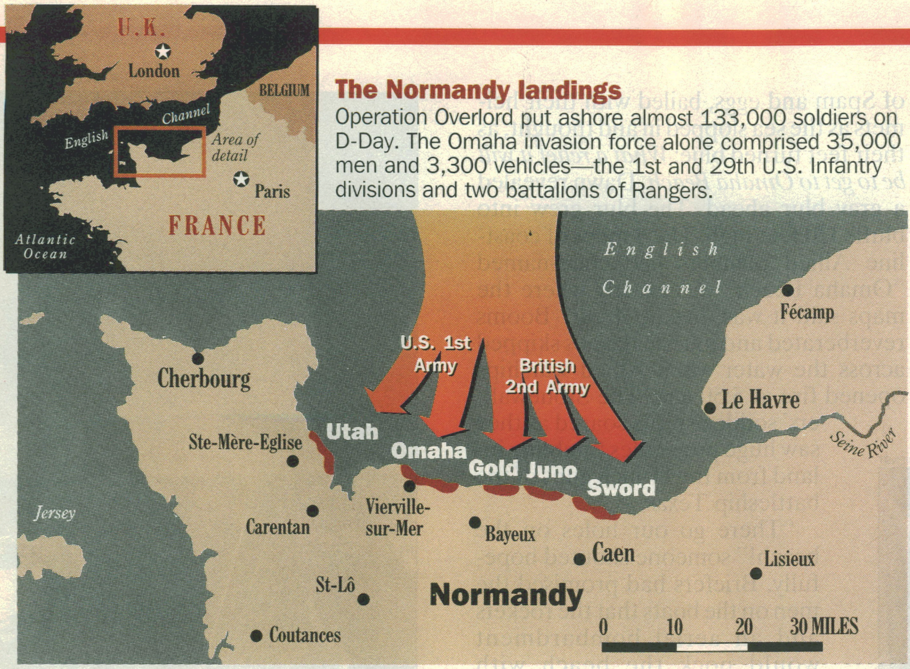
LCVP

Low-tide mark

Belgian gates
Large, mined steel structures, placed 250 yards from shore

THE LANDINGS

11 miles from landing craft launch to beach


U.K.
London
BELGIUM
English
Channel
Area of detail
Paris
FRANCE
Atlantic Ocean
English Channel
Fécamp
U.S. 1st Army
British 2nd Army
Cherbourg
Le Havre
Seine River
Utah
Omaha
Gold
Juno
Sword
Ste-Mère-Eglise
Jersey
Carentan
Vierville-sur-Mer
Bayeux
Caen
Lisieux
St-Lô
Normandy
Coutances
0
10
20
30 MILES

The Normandy landings

Operation Overlord put ashore almost 133,000 soldiers on D-Day. The Omaha invasion force alone comprised 35,000 men and 3,300 vehicles—the 1st and 29th U.S. Infantry divisions and two battalions of Rangers.

be seen between them. Heinze was only 21, but he felt ancient. On the eastern front, he had watched the Russians overwhelm the forces of the fatherland with men—outnumbering them by 5 or 10 to 1. Now, the Allies would overwhelm the Reich with machines.

At the leading edge of the armada, the men of the 116th Infantry plowed the whitecaps in assault boats. After 20 months of training in the English countryside, they figured they were as ready as they would ever be for their first taste of combat. On the eve of D-Day, each had prepared himself in his own way. Pvt. John Barnes of A Company made a bargain with God: *Spare me and I'll become a priest.* But Barnes had canceled the deal and decided to take his chances. Pvt. Gilbert Murdoch of A Company slipped a photo of his fiancée into the liner of his helmet. Pvt. Felix Branham of K Company asked each member of his boat team to sign the 500-franc note he had won in a gin rummy game as a talisman. Referring to the troop transport carrying them toward the beach, he told his comrades, "Some of us are getting off this thing and never getting back on."

Dear Sis. In B Company, Pvt. Harold Baumgarten assumed he'd be among the ones to die. He wrote his sister in New York to get to the mailbox first so she could break the news to his parents gently. On D-Day, he donned a field jacket with a Star of David on the back and the lettering, "The Bronx, New York."

Elsewhere, bravura vied with black humor as the GIs waited for the attack to begin. At Headquarters Company, Capt. Robert Walker and a few comrades were writing their own "invasion music," using a popular baseball song as a model:

Take me out to the beachhead,
Take me out with the troops.
Put some Spam and jam in a sack,
I don't think that we'll ever get back;
So it's shoot, shoot, shoot for
  the Gen'ral,
If we don't win, it's a shaaame;

Fighting for a toehold

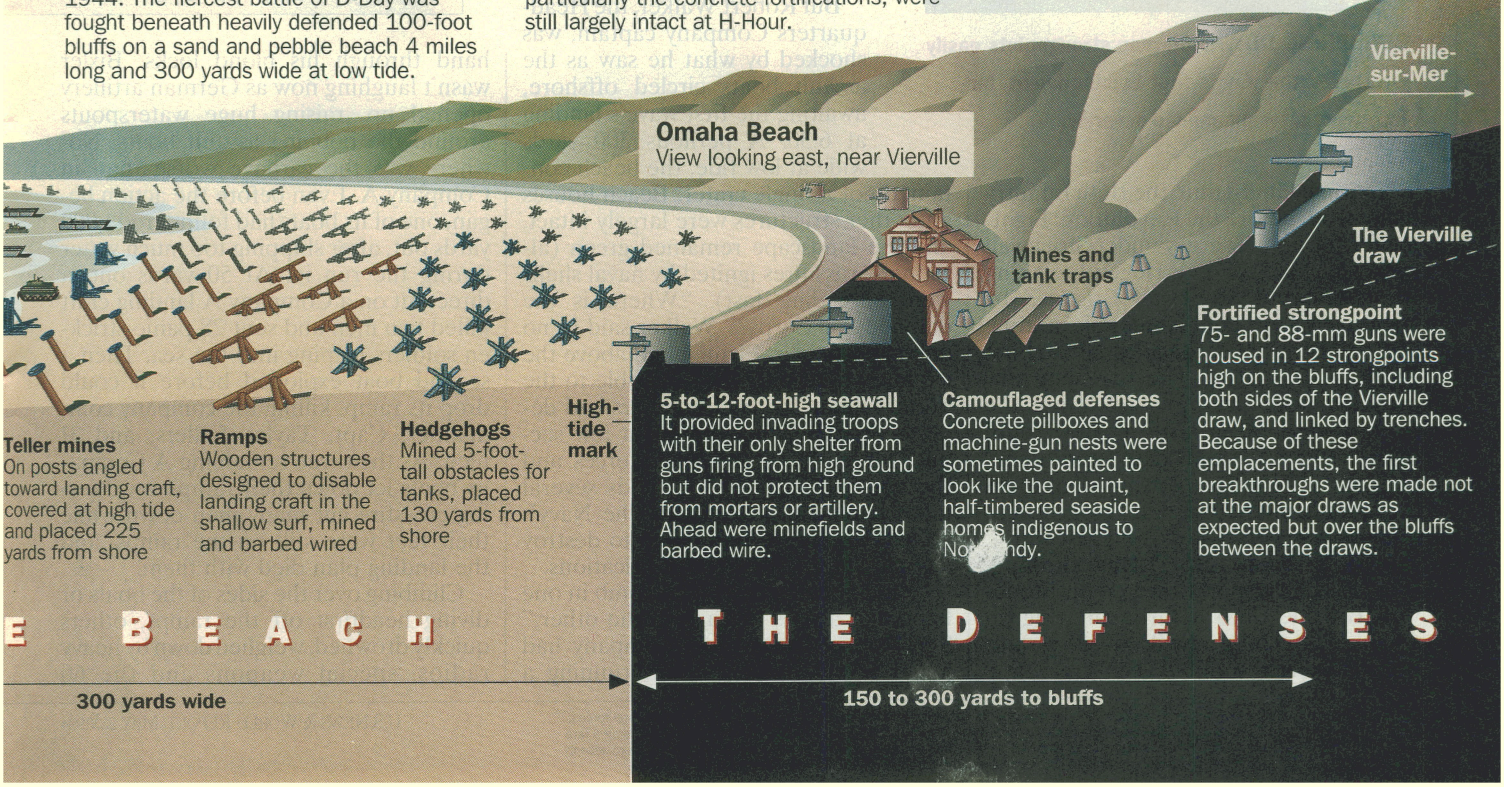
The first U.S. troops landed on Omaha Beach at "H-Hour": 6:30 a.m., June 6, 1944. The fiercest battle of D-Day was fought beneath heavily defended 100-foot bluffs on a sand and pebble beach 4 miles long and 300 yards wide at low tide.

Piercing the Atlantic wall

Despite massive bombardment shortly before the landings, the beach defenses, particularly the concrete fortifications, were still largely intact at H-Hour.

ROB KEMP—*USN&WR*

USN&WR—Basic data: *D-Day Normandy: The Story and Photographs*, Macmillan; *D-Day: Operation Overlord*, Smithmark; *Beyond the Beachhead*, Stackpole Books; *D-Day and the Invasion of Normandy*, Abrams; Magellan Geographix/Distributed by L.A. Times Syndicate


Omaha Beach
View looking east, near Vierville
Vierville-sur-Mer
The Vierville draw
Mines and tank traps
High-tide mark
E BEACH
THE DEFENSES
300 yards wide
150 to 300 yards to bluffs

Teller mines On posts angled toward landing craft, covered at high tide and placed 225 yards from shore

Ramps Wooden structures designed to disable landing craft in the shallow surf, mined and barbed wired

Hedgehogs Mined 5-foot-tall obstacles for tanks, placed 130 yards from shore

5-to-12-foot-high seawall It provided invading troops with their only shelter from guns firing from high ground but did not protect them from mortars or artillery. Ahead were minefields and barbed wire.

Camouflaged defenses Concrete pillboxes and machine-gun nests were sometimes painted to look like the quaint, half-timbered seaside homes indigenous to Normandy.

Fortified strongpoint 75- and 88-mm guns were housed in 12 strongpoints high on the bluffs, including both sides of the Vierville draw, and linked by trenches. Because of these emplacements, the first breakthroughs were made not at the major draws as expected but over the bluffs between the draws.

So it's one, two, three shots and
you're dead,
At the old beachhead.

Three thousand in all, the men of the 116th Infantry were the first wave in an ocean of Allied military manpower. In less than 12 hours, they and the 1st Division's 16th Regiment would punch through Hitler's Atlantic wall, winning glory at a fearful price in blood. A Virginia National Guard unit, the 116th Infantry dated from before the Revolution. Fighting for the Confederacy under Stonewall Jackson, it had become a legend, winning the sobriquet "Stonewall Brigade" by standing with its commander like a stone wall against Yankee advances at the First Battle of Bull Run. The regiment now included both drawling lads from the Blue Ridge Mountains ("Yawl cum ovah. Ya heah?") and "dese" and "dem" boys from the urban North – all of them escapees from their nation's biggest economic crisis into history's biggest war.

ULLSTEIN BILDERDIENST

BUNKERING DOWN. German strongpoints easily weathered the Navy's first bombardment, but they were later pummeled severely.

Away all boats. On D-Day morning, three great transports lowered the Stonewall Brigade onto a turbulent English Channel. Pitching crazily in 90 assault boats, the men vomited their breakfasts of Spam and eggs, bailed with their helmets as the sea slopped in and thought, as their feet turned blue: *What a relief it will be to get to Omaha Beach.* Dawn revealed a gray blur ahead. The blur grew into bluffs 120 feet high. The 4 miles of coastline Allied planners had code-named "Omaha Beach" was exactly where the maps said it was. *Ready, Adolf?* Booms reverberated and muzzle flashes skipped across the water when Allied warships opened fire at 5:50 a.m. The Stonewallers' sodden spirits soared as they saw huge projectiles tumbling inland from the 14-inch guns of the battleship Texas.

"There go our holes on the beach!" someone shouted hopefully. Briefers had promised the men on the boats that the rockets and an aerial bombardment would pock the beach with ready-made foxholes, and to the Stonewallers the D-Day plan seemed to be working perfectly. The battle plan for Operation Overlord called for the Navy to decimate the beach's defenders with a bombardment from the sea while the Air Corps did the same from the air. The 116th was then to storm ashore on the western half of Omaha Beach as troops of the 1st Division took the beach's eastern half, clearing the way for 35,000 men and 2,400 tons of equipment – everything from jeeps and howitzers to blood plasma and toilet paper – to be landed by day's end.

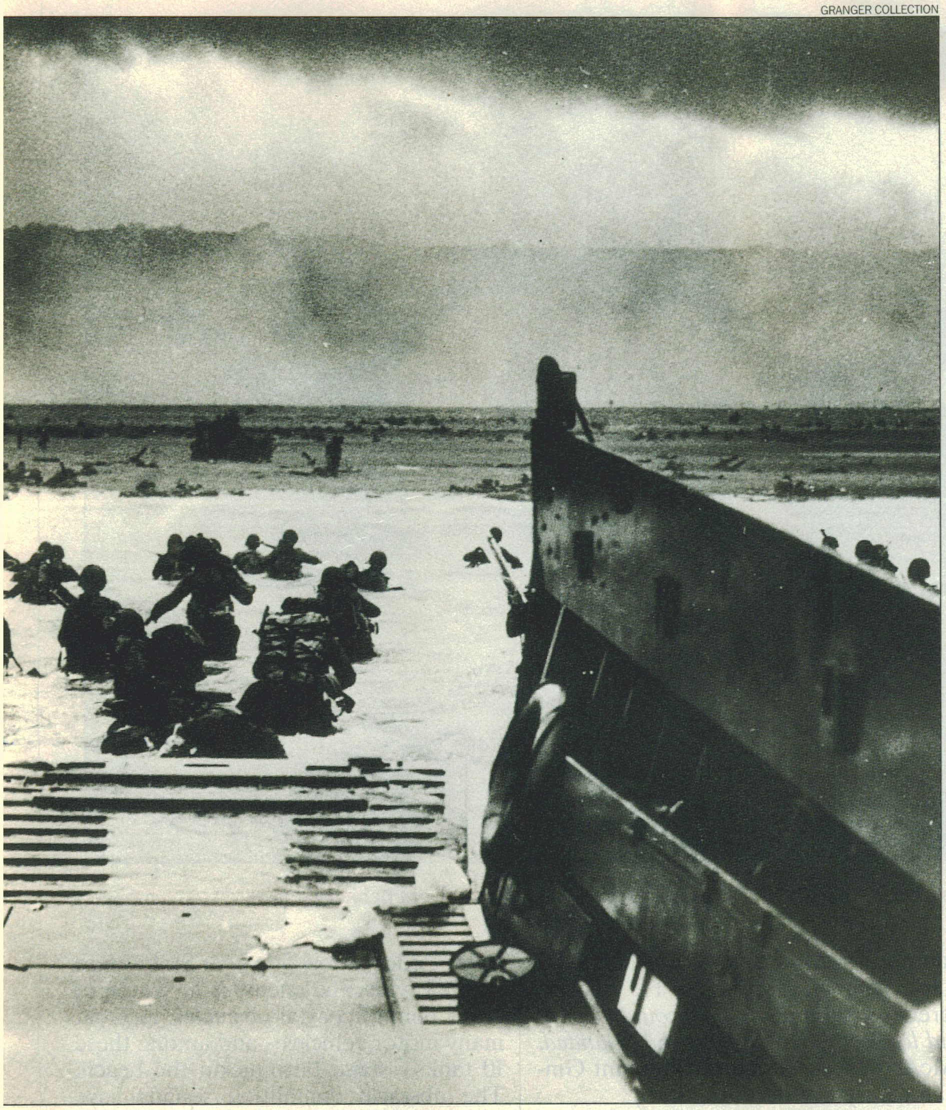
But Robert Walker, the Headquarters Company captain, was shocked by what he saw as the assault boats circled offshore, awaiting the first wave's landing at 6:30. A perilous 300 yards wide at low tide, the beach contained not a single crater. Beach houses and other structures were largely intact, and the landscape remained green (although grass fires ignited by naval shells were spreading fast). "Where is the damned Air Corps?" Walker said to no one in particular. Flying blind above the clouds, where they were invisible to the Stonewallers, the B-17 bombers had delayed dropping their bombs a few seconds for fear of hitting Allied forces, and the bombs had fallen on fields several miles behind the coastline. The Navy's rockets and shells had failed to destroy any part of the German fortifications.

"I'm going to land with a comb in one hand and a pass to Paris in the other," Sgt. Robert Bixler of D Company had joked several hours earlier, running a hand through his blond locks. Bixler wasn't laughing now as German artillery opened up, raising huge waterspouts around the bobbing assault boats. Nowhere was the carnage worse than in Company A. Even before the action began, one of its boats had foundered 1,000 yards out, after shipping too much water during the run in. At 50 yards out, a direct hit on a Company A landing craft killed two men and sent 28 panic-stricken soldiers leaping into the sea. Then a second boat exploded before it could drop its ramp, killing the company commander, Capt. Taylor Fellers, and 31 men. As the three remaining A Company boats let down their ramps, a withering crossfire cut many men down while their feet were still on the ramps, and the landing plan died with them.

Climbing over the sides of the boats or diving headfirst off the ramps, others quickly drowned, weighed down by heavy radios, special weapons and the 60

This narrative was drawn from many sources – interviews with veterans, including the few survivors of the German coastal forces; oral histories compiled by the Eisenhower Center at the University of New Orleans; U.S. and German documents, including a rare copy of the 29th Division *Group Critique Notes* prepared contemporaneously by army historians; and books, among them Joseph Balkoski's comprehensive account of the 29th Division in Normandy, *Beyond the Beachhead*, Stackpole Books, 1989.

GRANGER COLLECTION



SO THIS IS FRANCE. **Newly disgorged from their landing craft, U.S. infantrymen begin a deadly slog and a mad scramble across 300 yards of beach beneath German guns.**

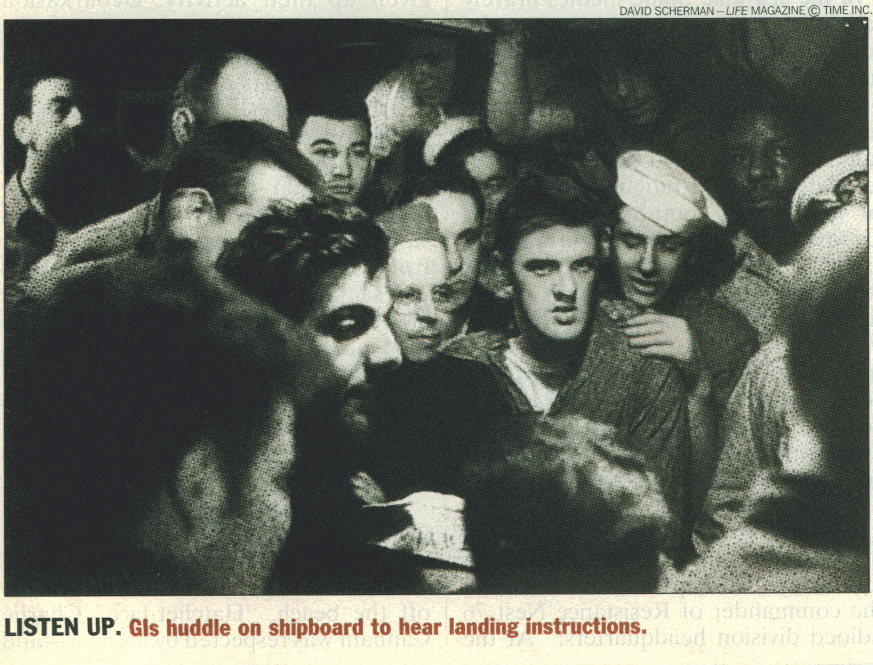
pounds of equipment each man carried. Still others frantically yanked at straps and squirmed out of their gear, thrashing about in a macabre underwater ballet as gunfire tattooed the surface. Cast-off weapons and helmets sank to the bottom. "Sergeant, they're leaving us to die like rats! Just to die like rats!" Pvt. Henry Witt shouted over the roar of machine-gun and mortar fire. Lt. Edward Tidrick made his way to the sand and flopped down, a gaping wound in his throat. "Advance with the wire cutters!" he gasped as machine-gun bullets ripped him.

Body count. In less than 30 minutes, more than two thirds of the 200 men of A Company were casualties. With his girl's photo tucked in his helmet liner, Gil Murdoch was struck by the ramp of his landing craft as he entered the water. *Not a good omen.* Struggling to shore, he moved on his belly, clinging to a rifle clogged with sand. Before Murdoch stretched one of the world's widest tidal flats, ribbed by obstacles and raked by shellfire. Crawling behind a mined obstacle, he was joined by fellow Pfc. George Roach, who gave him news he couldn't have imagined a day earlier: Subtracting dead and wounded, he and Roach were Company A's ranking members.

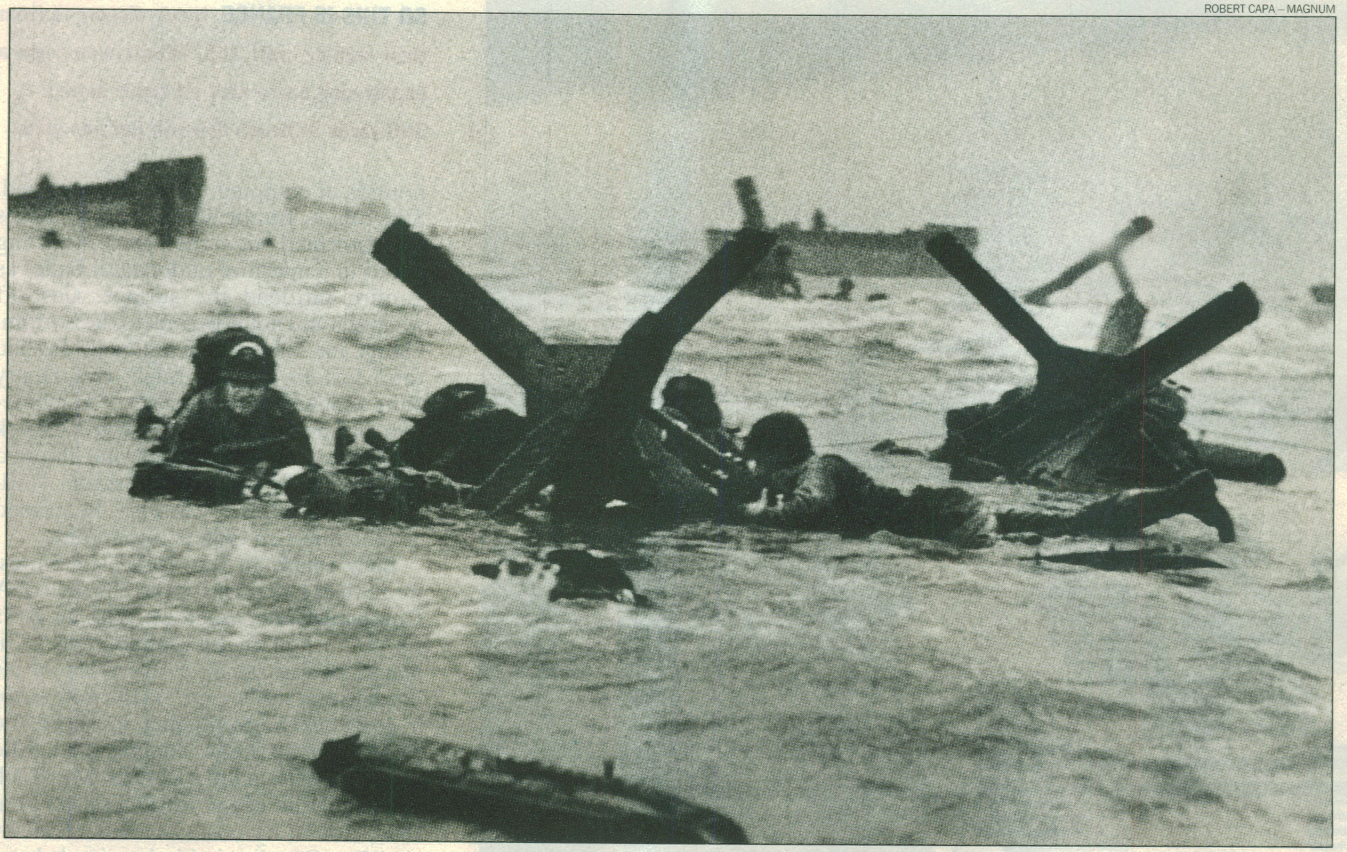
Aghast at the carnage and spooked by the smoke that now obscured the landmarks on shore, the British coxswain piloting the B Company command boat announced that he could not land. The company commander, Ettore Zappacosta, pulled out his .45 pistol: "By God, you'll take this boat straight in." A hail of bullets hit the ramp as it was dropped, and "Capt. Zapp" and 30 of his men died in the tumult.

The lone survivor was Pfc. Robert Sales, Zappacosta's radio operator, who had the good luck to trip on the ramp and fall off, the misstep taking him out of the path of machine-gun fire. To steady himself after a mortar round exploded nearby, Sales grabbed a log that was floating by. *Never mind the live teller mine attached to it – the log was salvation.* Using it as a shield, he pushed toward shore, riding the tide in, gradually getting closer and closer to the 5-foot sea wall that offered the only true cover from the relentless machine-gun fire on the beach. Hours passed, but he made it to the high-water mark before he abandoned the log and crawled the rest of the way to the sea wall,

DAVID SCHERMAN – *LIFE* MAGAZINE © TIME INC.



LISTEN UP. **GIs huddle on shipboard to hear landing instructions.**



ROBERT CAPA – MAGNUM

SURF RIDERS. The men of the 1st Infantry Division take shelter behind hedgehogs as the tide rushes in behind them.

using his dead comrades as shields. Never before in his life had he felt so helpless.

"Arme schweine," Lieutenant Frerking called the Americans as he watched their landing boats close on the beach. Cannon fodder. The comment was for the benefit of his 19-year-old batman. Hein Severloh had never fired a shot in anger, his military specialty being the supplying of eggs, butter and Calvados for *der oberleutnant* and his *kameraden.* But now Hitler needed his trigger finger—he was manning a machine gun. Wait until they get knee deep in the water, then shoot them before they spread out, Frerking instructed, echoing the order that was going to troops all along the beach. Severloh was soon pouring round after round into the debarking Americans. Twenty men, 30 men, 50 men—a feeling of disgust filled him as the dead and wounded piled up. His targets were not distant, anonymous figures; their features could be distinguished, their faces seen and remembered. Although disgust gave way to despair, he kept on shooting.

"Ginman! Ginman!" cried Pvt. Thomas McArtor of Company D, begging his friend for help as he struggled in the water, mortally wounded. But Pfc. Randolph Ginman kept going. He remembered his training: *Achieve your objective and let the medics care for the wounded.* (McArtor's pleas would still haunt Ginman nearly five decades later.)

To the sea wall. Some medics bravely walked the shoreline, separating the wounded from the scores of corpses that sloshed in and out with the surf. Others tended to the worst injuries of the men who had made it to the sea wall and now slumped behind it, stupefied with fear and fatigue and grateful for a place of temporary sanctuary (German mortarmen were zeroing in). As Captain Walker surveyed the scene, lines from Tennyson's "Charge of the Light Brigade" ran through his head:

Cannon to the right of them / Cannon to the left of them / Cannon in front of them / Volley'd and thunder'd / Theirs not to reason why / Theirs but to do and die / Someone had blundered.

Eyes still pressed to their binoculars, the Germans on the bluffs dared to think they had repelled the invasion. The commander of Resistance Nest 76 radioed division headquarters: "At the water's edge at low tide near St. Laurent and Vierville, the enemy is in search of cover behind coastal obstacles. A great many motor vehicles—and among these 10 tanks—stand burning on the beach. The obstacle demolition squads have given up their activity. Debarkation from the landing boats has ceased, the boats keep farther seawards . . . ."

Brig. Gen. Norman Cota, the assistant commander of the 29th Division, had known how rough it would be. He had proposed that the first wave hit the beach before daylight, when darkness would supply a measure of protection from German gunners. The higher-ups had said no. Too confusing. Now, as he arrived 60 minutes after H-Hour, Cota may have wondered whether greater confusion was possible. Twenty-four of the 116th's officers were dead; most of its boat teams were pinned down, disoriented, demoralized and devoid of communications, their radios asleep in the deep.

Scrambling ashore with Cota was Col. Charles Canham, the 116th's commander. The two set off in opposite directions, determined to get their battered brigade off the beach. "Hatchet-face" Charlie Canham was respected by his men—and

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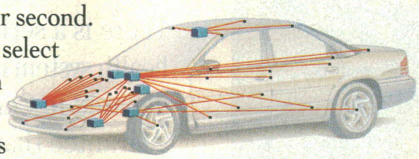

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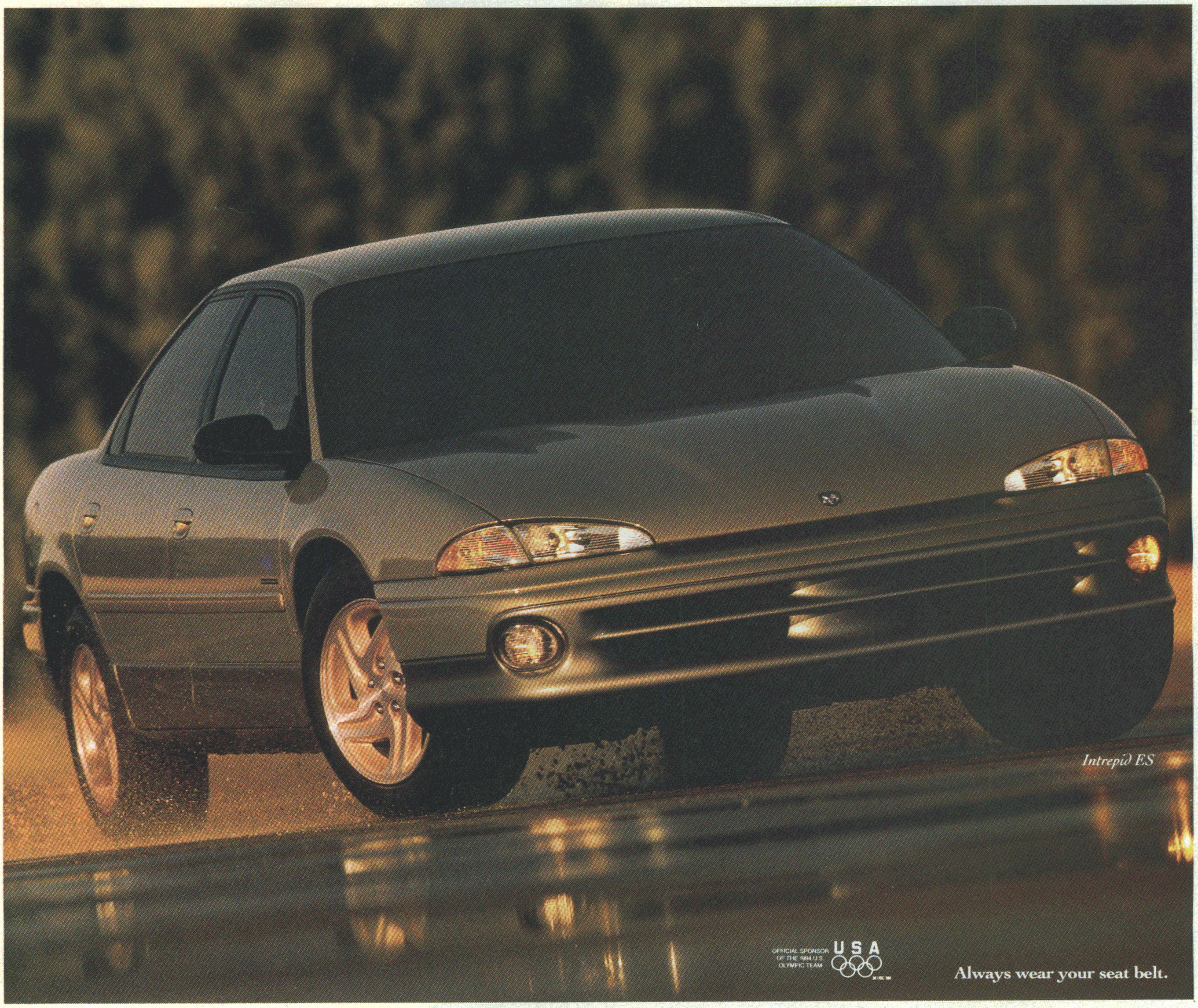

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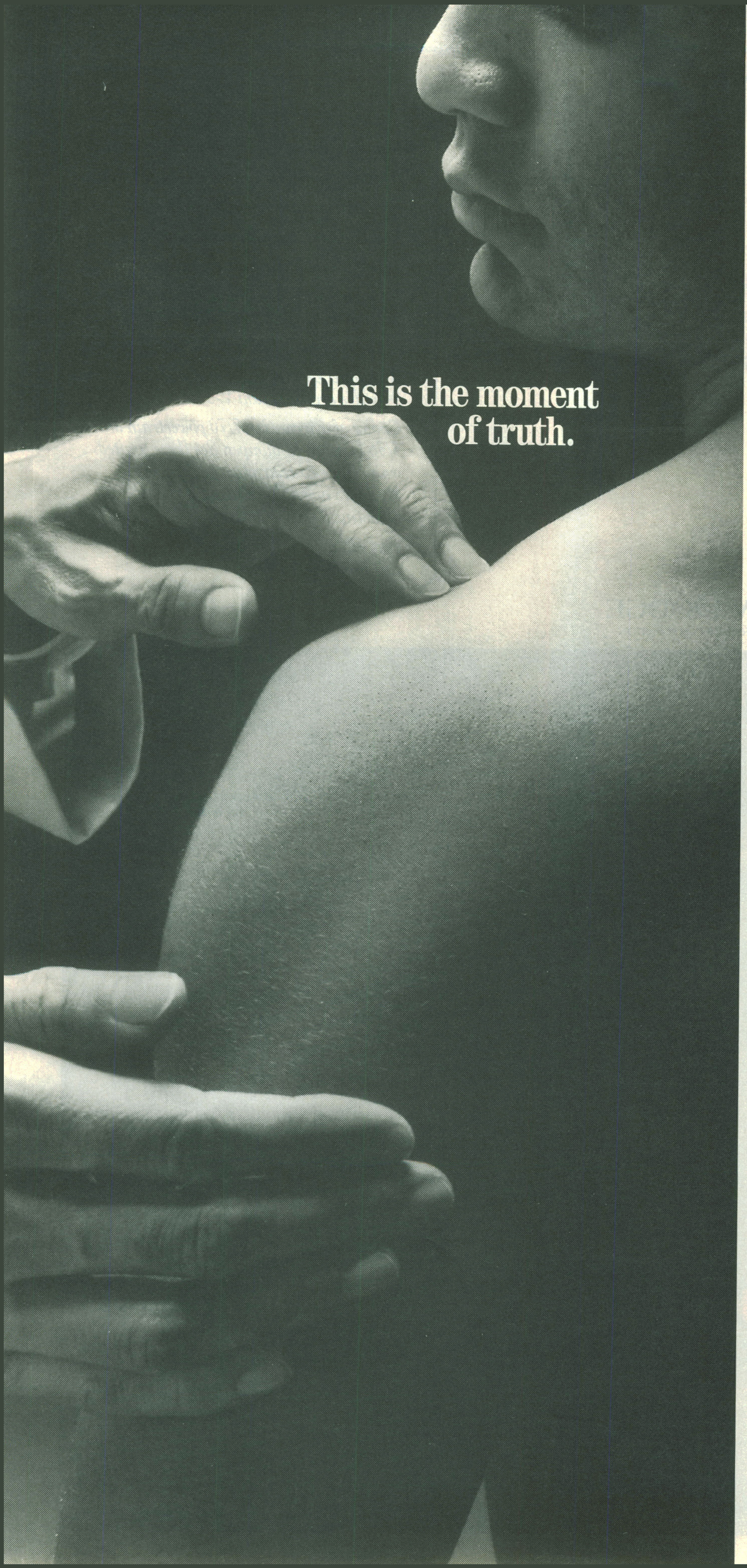
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feared. Shot in the wrist shortly after hitting the beach ("the bastards winged me," he muttered), he carried his right arm in a sling and waved a .45 pistol in his left hand. "Get these men the hell off this beach!" he shouted at one officer. "Go kill some goddamned krauts!" Finding a lieutenant colonel taking refuge from a mortar barrage in a pillbox, Canham roared: "Get your ass out of there and show some leadership!" A lieutenant received this mission: "Get these men off their dead asses and over that wall!"

"Dutch" moves out. Fellow West Pointer Cota was more soothingly avuncular but no less theatrical. He swung a cane when he walked and clenched a lighted or unlighted cigar in his mouth with Churchillian ferocity. Knowing the power of example, "Dutch" Cota got men over the sea wall by scaling it first himself. On his orders a bangalore torpedo was then used to breach the coils of barbed wire that blocked exit from the beach. The first man through the gap bought it when a German machine gun opened up. "Medico, I'm hit! Help me!" the GI gasped. He sobbed "Mama" several times before he died. Seeing his men freeze, Cota dashed through the gap himself. The machine gun did not resume fire. The lesson was unmistakable: *If a 51-year-old general can do it, who can't?*

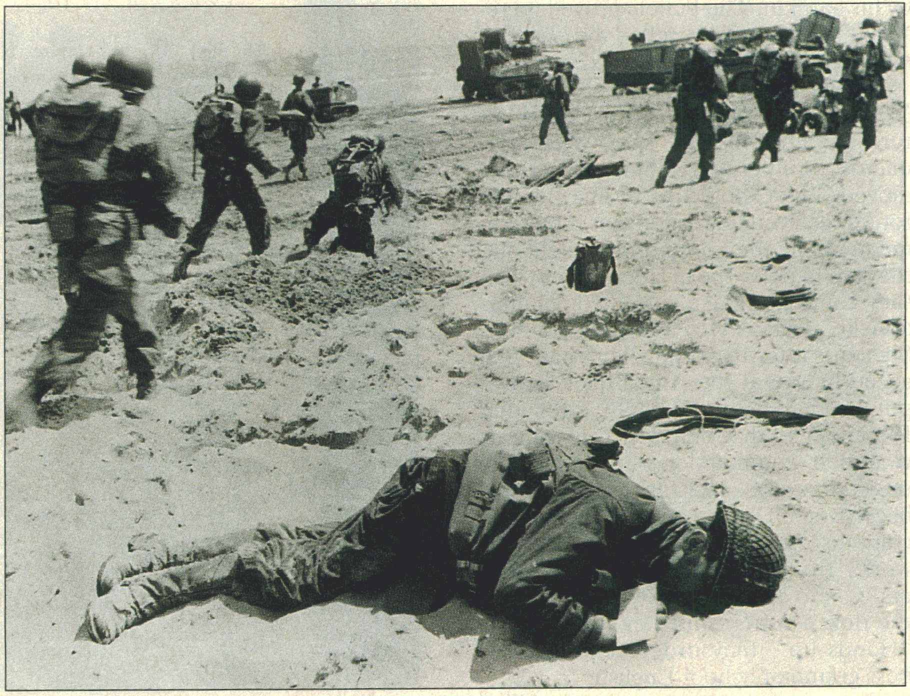
Up the bluffs the Stonewallers went by the dozens, hugging the irregularities in the terrain for cover. They reached the village of Vierville, one third of a mile inland, after firing only a few shots. C Company soon arrived to find Cota twirling a pistol on his index finger like Wyatt Earp. "Where the hell have you been, boys?" he asked. Cota's next task was opening the 500-yard draw that ran from Omaha Beach to Vierville. It offered an escape route for the tanks and other vehicles trapped in the sand by the steep bluffs. Catching the Germans unawares, he liberated the draw from behind with a six-man patrol led by himself.

Dozens of other Stonewallers provided equally bold leadership, but their luck did not always match their pluck. Lt. William Williams took seven members of B Company up the bluff toward the fortified village of Les Moulins and right into the sights of a machine gunner. While the other men hugged the ground, Williams charged the pillbox, crawling through a gully to within 20 yards of it and hurling grenades. One grenade bounced back from the pillbox on him. A German "potato masher" followed it. Bleeding from several wounds, he crawled back down the hill toward his men, his hindquarters just an inch or two too high. Three bullets struck him in the rump and right leg. He ordered his men to go on without him, bypassing the machine gun. "This beach has too many people," screamed Lt. Donald Anderson, an A Company officer. Anderson led his 30 men onto high ground past barbed wire, mines, artillery explosions and burping machine guns, but then stuck his head up from behind a hedgerow and caught a bullet in the jaw.

"Follow me" increasingly became the watchword on the lips of officers, noncoms and even privates. But for all their recouped courage, the Stonewallers needed a Navy Sunday punch to press on. With its fire-control teams unable to get ashore and most of the infantry's radios on the bottom of the English Channel, the Navy improvised a risky new strategy: Fire at known targets and visible targets of opportunity and hope for the best. Battleships, cruisers and destroyers plinked away at enemy strongpoints through billows of dust and smoke.

The term "friendly fire" hadn't been invented yet. It would take Vietnam to add that euphemism to the warrior's vocabulary. But the killing of civilians or of your own men was an ancient curse of martial life from which D-Day enjoyed no exemption. In Vierville, naval shells hit the house of the mayor and killed a woman and a baby in a bakery. Destroyers unwittingly bombarded GIs in St. Laurent, 1,000 yards inland, just as they were advancing against the village's German defenders; a similar shelling of Colleville, a 1st Division objective to the east, killed 64 Americans. An unknown number of GIs perished amid the blasts on the bluffs. Stonewallers looked toward the sound of the guns and had mostly one thought: *Go, Navy!* Friendly casualties or not, the relentless battering was decimating the Germans.

DPA



UNSEEN DEAD. One of the few photos of a corpse on Omaha Beach to survive censors

By afternoon, Hein Severloh's war was no longer the one-sided slaughter it had been in the early hours, when men of the 116th Regiment and the 1st Division fell en masse before his machine gun. Naval shelling and blasts from tanks on the beach had pummeled the resistance nest west of the Colleville draw mercilessly. An explosion had knocked fragments of Severloh's machine gun into his face, and his eyes were now almost swollen shut. The ammo was nearly gone; American riflemen pressed in on both sides of the emplacements. Hitler had said German soldiers must fight to the last man, but the battalion commander, Maj. Werner Pluskat, had made a pungent observation just before D-Day: "A stinking German corpse won't save the fatherland."

Pluskat's words may have echoed in Lieutenant Frerking's head as he sent his last radio message: "Gunfire barrage on the beach. Every shell a certain hit. We are getting out." He had told Severloh that he would make a dash for safety first, then Severloh could come out. But when another soldier ran from the bunker and was cut down by enemy fire, Frerking revised his escape plan: "You go first, Hein, and I'll follow you." Severloh scrambled across a landscape as barren of greenery as the moon. As he jumped from one shell crater to another, two bullets struck him in the hip, but he was able to keep going. Frerking leaped from the bunker a few seconds later. He scurried over the same zigzag path taken by his batman. The bullets proved no respecter of rank. They felled the *oberleutnant* like ordinary *arme schweine.*

"Hands up!" The fate of Resistance Nest 62 was typical. With Allied air forces controlling the skies over Normandy, strafing any military target that moved or lay exposed, front-line German forces received no resupply or reinforcement. While their ammunition held out, they could delay the invaders at best. But they could not make sustained counterattacks, as Hans Heinze would discover. Six hours after the young lieutenant first gazed in awe at the Allied fleet, he was put in charge of the 916th Grenadier Regiment's 8th Company, replacing its wounded commander. His immediate mission: retake a resistance nest that had been overrun by the enemy. He and two columns (platoons) crept up on the works from behind. They tossed grenades into it and quickly overpowered the dozen Americans they found there. "Hands up," they ordered, using their best grammar-school English.

The triumph was transitory. Allied shells were soon homing in on the resistance nest, shattering eardrums and pulverizing concrete. Heinze was well aware of the *führerbefehl* to hold to the last man. He had seen countless fair-haired German youths sacrificed in Russia to honor it. He was also aware of Frederick the Great's dictum: A good officer knows when to obey – and when to disobey. Heinze pulled his men out. He expected a tongue-lashing from the battalion commander, if not worse, but the captain was delighted to see him return with few losses. The captain himself was just back from a mission. He had led the 8th Company's Third Column into an ambush and lost every man. As he told the story to Heinze, he was in tears.

While some Germans wept on D-Day, others conformed to Allied stereotypes perfectly. An American lieutenant became frustrated with a German POW who would give only his name, rank and serial number. Finally, screaming, "Where are the damned minefields?" the interrogator grabbed his carbine and fired a .30-caliber bullet between the man's legs. The private pointed to his crotch: "*Nicht hier,*" he said, his lips curling with contempt. He then pointed to his head: "*Hier!*" Earlier, on the promenade above Omaha Beach, a GI with a rifle had marched behind five men wearing German Army uniforms and holding their hands above their heads. A burst from a German machine gun cut the first two prisoners down. The remaining three dropped to their knees as if begging for mercy. The machine gun opened up again, catching one man in the chest as the other two dived for cover. The *führer* said no surrender.

GRIM AFTERMATH. **German soldiers captured by U.S. forces near Colleville-sur-Mer bury comrades who were killed during the fighting on D-Day.**

By the time darkness fell over Normandy, most surviving members of the Stonewall Brigade had found their way off Omaha Beach onto the bluffs or the plateau beyond. Arrayed in small groups almost haphazardly among the hedgerows dividing farmers' fields, men flopped down in shallow foxholes. D-Day night was a symphony of spooky sounds – serenading frogs, interludes of gunfire near or far, the popping of the little TNT charges used to dig slit trenches. The Stonewallers had come through a day they would describe 50 years later as the most vivid of their lives – one they

ROBERT CAPA—MAGNUM

wouldn't take $1 million to have missed or $2 million to repeat. *How will I measure up?* they had wondered 24 hours earlier; each man now had his answer, such as it was. Felix Branham, bedding down with his lucky 500-franc note, thought of the buddies he had seen die and of how close to death he had come himself. Tears streamed down his grimy face. Weariness overpowered Sgt. Bob Slaughter of D Company. Unfazed by the murmur of German voices and the clanking of cooking utensils, he fell into a bottomless stupor (dawn would reveal enemy positions 25 yards away).

Many men, however, were able to sleep only fitfully, if at all. Harold Baumgarten, lying on high ground overlooking the beach, raised his M-1 rifle and fired whenever he heard a sound he couldn't identify. He often squinted at the luminous dial of his Rima automatic-winding wristwatch. *Would this night never end?* The krauts had inflicted four wounds on him at intervals throughout the day—shrapnel flew into his left cheek, shattering his upper jaw, a mine blew a hole in his left foot, one bullet pierced his scalp and another his face (he would receive a fifth wound the next day while lying on a stretcher). A medic had bandaged Baumgarten and then left him to care for himself, dulling the pain with morphine from the little tube each GI carried. Still, the kid from "The Bronx, New York" had to feel at least a little lucky. His condition might have been worse. Despite the darkness, he was sure he could see bodies tossing in the surf. They looked like driftwood.

A walk on the beach. As noisy as a slaughterhouse only hours earlier, Omaha Beach was now quieter, befitting a museum of horrors. The blackened ruins of 21 tanks squatted on the sand or in the water, left behind when an antitank barrier blocking the Vierville road was finally blasted open late in the day and trucks, jeeps and 30 other tanks rumbled up the draw. Corpses lay all over, some locked in grotesque postures by rigor mortis. As many as 850 Stonewallers—nearly 1 out of 3 members of the regiment—were dead or injured. The toll rose as the chill of night descended and wounded men died. Medical corpsmen stripped blankets from the dead and draped them over the living. Most of the Germans on the bluffs had been killed, captured or driven out, but snipers still perched in their niches. An ambulance navigated cautiously with cat's-eye lights.

The men of the 29th Division extended less than a mile inland, well short of the 6-mile penetration D-Day plans called for. Still, after flirting with calamity, they had accomplished their mission. They had secured a vital beachhead for the greatest invasion ever attempted, ramming through Hitler's Atlantic wall in less than a day. A half-million men and millions of tons of weapons and equipment would stream across Omaha, Utah, Sword, Juno and Gold beaches in the next week.

Yet as he made a midevening pass down "Bloody Omaha," his cane pointing the way, Dutch Cota wasn't ready to break out the Calvados to celebrate. He was weighing the challenges June 7 would bring—D-Day Plus 1. The Allies owned the first mile to Berlin; Hitler owned the next 700. Out of nowhere, barking and snarling, an angry dog came charging—evidently the mascot of German soldiers. Someone lifted a carbine and fired. The dog faded into the darkness like a vanquished boogeyman in a bad dream. All day, fueled by cigar smoke and adrenalin, Cota had tempted fate mightily and had suffered no more than a scratch, not even when a mortar round killed two enlisted men just 3 feet from him. Now he could afford at least an ounce of caution. Landing craft continued to burn at the shoreline, sending eerie patches of light dancing over the sand. Lest the flames silhouette him for snipers, the general moved with his aides into the cover of the sea wall. Omaha Beach was still a sink of unwelcome surprises. ■

ROBERT CAPA—MAGNUM

MERCY MISSION. On a ship off Omaha Beach, medics treat men wounded on D-Day. The wounded often had to wait many hours for evacuation.

WITH REPORTING BY JOHN MARKS
IN GERMANY

Next Week: *The Home Front by Stephen E. Ambrose*

EDITORIAL

BY MORTIMER B. ZUCKERMAN
EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

BEHIND THE PAULA JONES STORY

Every time you think politics and the media cannot get sleazier, there's a nasty surprise around the corner. The escalation of the depressing and disgusting charge of sexual harassment leveled at President Clinton epitomizes how much downscale tabloid values now pervade American discourse. No doubt the alleged scene will soon be on Court TV in some form with a motion picture to follow. The bandwagon everybody wants to jump onto is a garbage truck.

It does not pass the smell test. Paula Corbin Jones, then a state employee, says that when Bill Clinton was governor of Arkansas he used a state trooper to invite her to a hotel room in Little Rock during a state-sponsored conference and put pressure on her to engage in a sexual act. Why didn't she yell foul the next day? Why did she fail to make the charge during the six months required under law for such charges? Why did she keep silent during the presidential campaign when Clinton's relations with women were a hot issue? Why now? What we have is the moral and legal equivalent of a late hit in football.

> *'The news cycle works in such a way that allegations alone, without proof, burst into the headlines.'*

The odor intensifies with the information about attempts to profit from the alleged incident. According to an affidavit signed by a Little Rock businessman, one of Jones's lawyers tried to send word to Clinton that he should reach a settlement with Jones or be publicly embarrassed and that "it would help if President Clinton would get Paula a job out in California," where the president has Hollywood friends. (The lawyer claims he was misunderstood.) Only when Clinton refused was the suit filed.

Can anybody doubt that this suit would not have been filed if Paula Jones was not counting on the press being right outside the door, salivating to cover the case and offer her money? The down-and-dirty tabloids and that new affliction, tabloid TV, have no qualms about such a story. Digging up dirt, or manufacturing it, is their business. That is not new. What is new is the alacrity with which the mainstream press and television seem to feel obliged to regurgitate the bile.

Cliff Jackson, the perennial Clinton hater, understood this well. He saw how Clinton's enemies could seize the suit as a political weapon. He recognized that this is a feminist era: The general presumption is that a woman would not claim sexual harassment unless it were true. Otherwise, why would she expose herself to the publicity? Wendy Kaminer has analyzed it in the *Atlantic Monthly*. "Sexual violence," she writes, "is a unifying focal point for women . . . . It is heresy, in general, to question the testimony of self-proclaimed victims of date rape or harassment . . . . All claims of suffering are sacred and presumed to be absolutely true."

That sexual harassment exists is unquestionable, but that many minor acts of sexual misconduct are overdramatized is also true. To avoid trivializing those who suffer the real thing, we must reject the idea that any unwanted advance or remark constitutes harassment. There is a difference between an unwanted encounter, which may upset a woman, and pressure applied—such as threatening a woman's job security—or ongoing demeaning treatment. Those wrongly accused have their own kind of ordeal trying to prove a negative.

The sad fact is that the news cycle works in such a way that allegations alone, without proof, burst into the headlines. It is all very well to say the accused later went free without a stain on his character. The reality was more accurately portrayed by Anthony Trollope in his account of Phineas Finn, who was acquitted but could never go into the House of Commons without being made to feel guilty: "He had been so hacked and hewed about, so exposed to the gaze of the vulgar, so mauled by the public, that he could never more be anything but the wretched being who had been tried for the murder of his enemy. He could never more enjoy that freedom from self-consciousness, that inner tranquillity of spirit which [is] essential to public utility."

That is the cost to the public in the degradation of standards we are witnessing today. We can do more than regret this. We can take a public stance against the abuse of the courts for political and personal purposes. Let us oblige the plaintiffs to pay all or part of the legal costs of both sides if their claims are found wanting. And it is high time the media forbore to give such claimants a victory in the court of public opinion before they are heard in a court of law. ■

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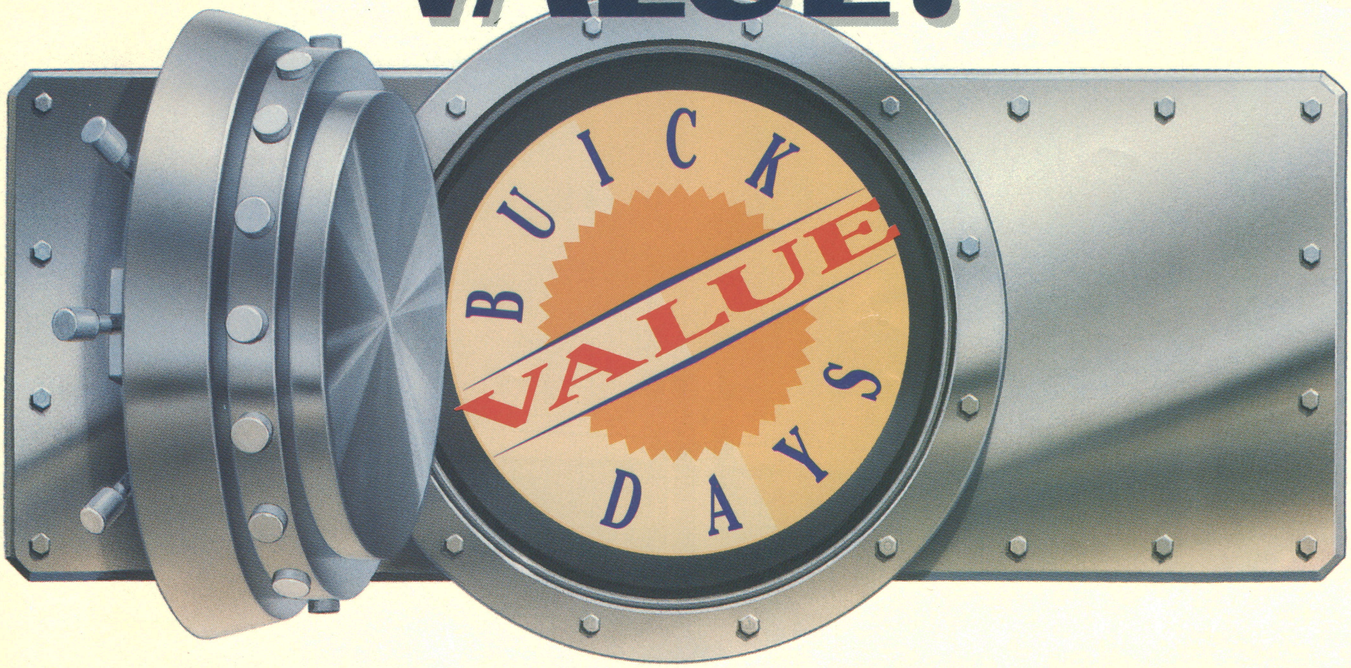

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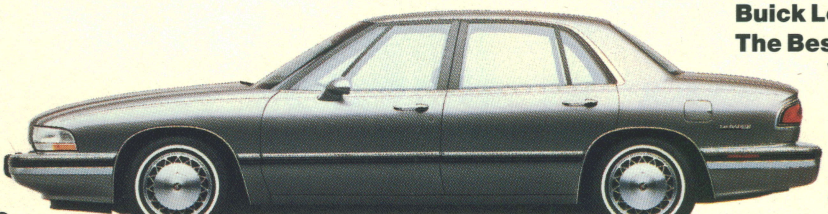

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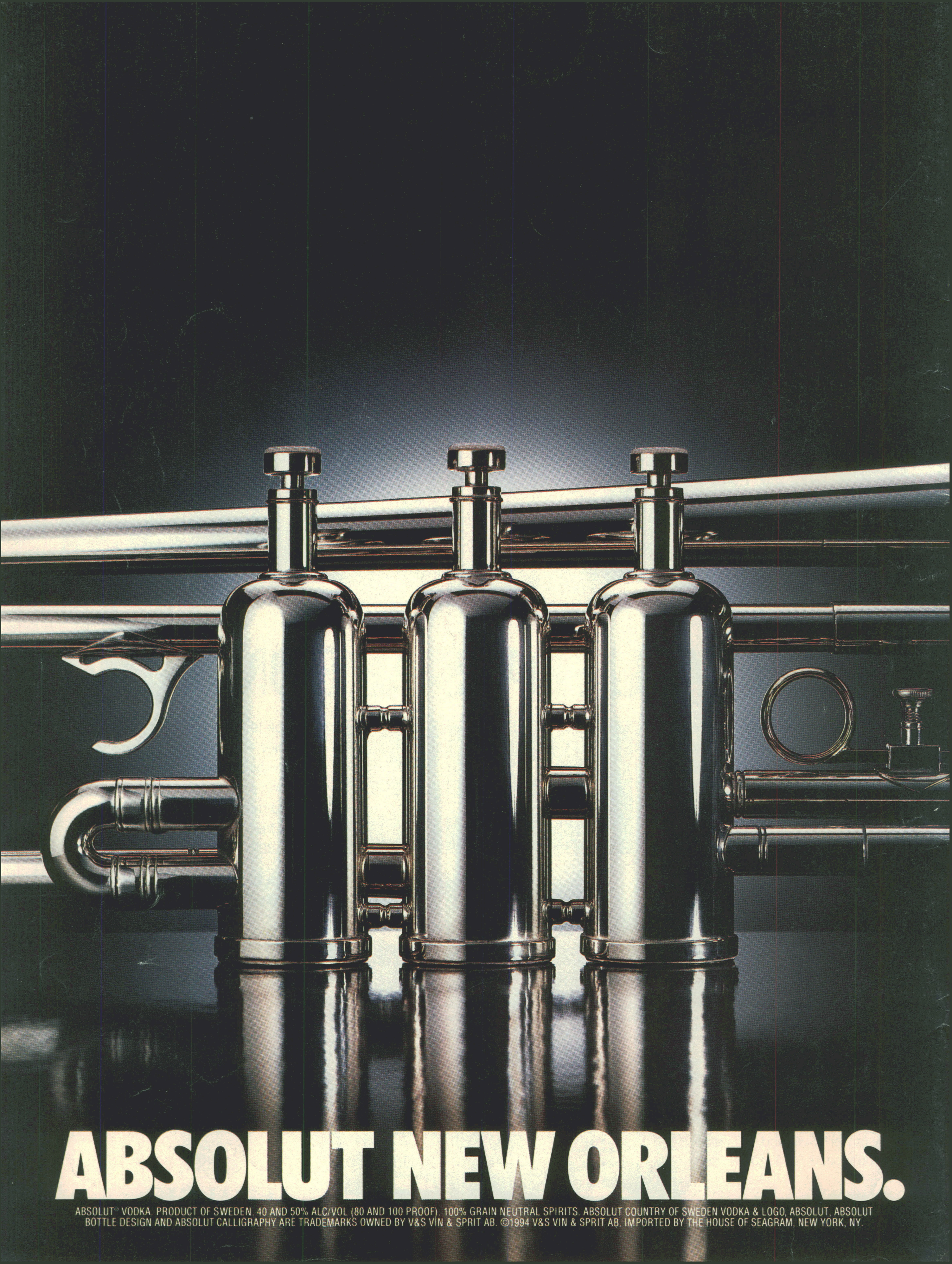

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